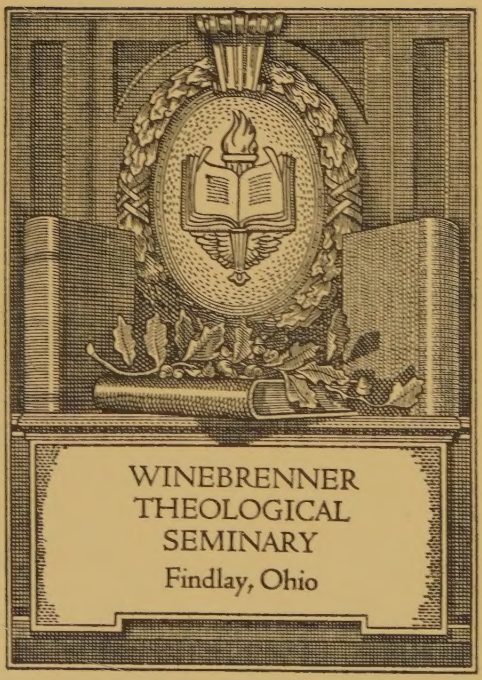
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THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

BY THE REV.
LEIGHTON PULLAN
Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford;
Lecturer in Theology at St. John's, Oriel,
and Queen's Colleges

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE object of the Oxford Library of Practical Theology is to supply some carefully considered teaching on matters of Religion to that large body of devout laymen, who desire instruction, but are not attracted by the learned treatises which appeal to the theologian. One of the needs of the time would seem to be, to translate the solid theological learning, of which there is no lack, into the vernacular of every-day practical religion; and while steering a course between what is called plain teaching on the one hand and erudition on the other, to supply some sound and readable instruction to those who require it, on the subjects included under the common title 'The Christian Religion,' that they may be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them, with meekness and fear.

The Editors, while not holding themselves precluded from suggesting criticisms, have regarded their proper task as that of editing, and accordingly they have not interfered with the responsibility of each writer for his treatment of his own subject.

W. C. E. N.
D. S.

INTRODUCTORY

This volume is intended to illustrate the history and meaning of the Book of Common Prayer, and more especially of those services which are in most frequent use or have been the subjects of theological discussion. The author has sometimes ventured to repeat his statements in different chapters, in order to make each chapter as intelligible and complete as its necessary limits will permit.

The phrase 'common prayers' was used in the middle of the sixteenth century to signify what we call 'public worship.' It was used not only by the reforming party in the Church, but also by their opponents, and it is therefore an error to suppose that the adoption of the name was intended to mark a difference between the reformed and the unreformed worship of the Church in England.

The English Litany published in 1544, in the reign of Henry VIII., was the first instalment of reformed worship. It was intended to be sung before High Mass. In 1548, after the accession of Edward VI., appeared the 'Order of the Communion,' a short series of exhortations and prayers in English, appointed to be inserted into the Latin Mass, in order to promote communion in both kinds among the laity.

The first Book of Common Prayer in English appeared in 1549, and was mainly the work of Archbishop Cranmer. He skilfully included in one book an abbreviated form of almost all the principal 'common prayers' which had been used before the Reformation. These services had originally been distributed through a large number of different volumes, and although the number of these books had been somewhat reduced by the end of the Middle Ages, the idea of compressing them within the compass of one volume appears to have been unknown in England until the time of Cranmer. The fact that it has now become usual in Roman Catholic countries to include the more important services in a 'Paroissien' or in a 'Diöcesan Gesangbuch,' testifies to Cranmer's true perception of a real need.

The Book of Common Prayer originally contained no forms for the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons, and consequently a simplified form of the mediæval English rites was published in 1550.

Cranmer was a student with eclectic tastes, and he drew his supplies from many sources. The *foreign* sources which he employed were the following: (1) The Mozarabic rite used in Spain, the influence of which is shown in the English Baptismal Office, and perhaps in the Eucharist. (2) The Greek Liturgy of S. Basil, the influence of which is shown in some words of the Eucharist, and also the Greek Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom. (3) The revised Roman Breviary drawn up by Cardinal Quiñones (or Quignon), in order to simplify the daily 'divine service,' the influence of which is shown in the introduction to the Book of

Common Prayer, entitled 'Concerning the Service of the Church,' and in our Mattins and Evensong. (4) German books which may be conveniently grouped together under the name of Lutheran, more especially the books used in Cöln, Nürnberg, and Calenberg and Göttingen. The influence of these books was great, and may easily be detected in the English Mattins and Evensong, in the Eucharist, in the Baptismal Office, and in the Litany. In remembering this influence it is also important to remember that no distinctive Lutheran doctrine is contained in the Book of Common Prayer, that the original Lutheran services in certain districts closely approximated to the mediæval services, and that it was only after several years that the violence of Luther and some of his extreme opponents made impossible a reconciliation of the moderate men on both sides. There were real hopes of reconciliation as late as 1541 in the conference held at Ratisbon, and an attempt was made in the Leipzig *Interim* of 1549.

Besides these foreign sources, Cranmer had at his disposal the mediæval books used in *England*. These books, like those now known by the name 'Roman,' are drawn from the Roman Service Books of the sixth and eighth centuries, which were enriched and debased with elements drawn from the 'Gallican' services used in France before the introduction of the Roman rite. It is a profound misfortune that students in Cranmer's time were not acquainted with the pure Roman and Gallican Service Books of the type used when S. Augustine came to England in 597, or when Benedict Biscop, of Monkwearmouth, went to Rome

in the next century. If these books had been known, it would have been possible to revise the common prayers of the English Church with complete success, to remove every real corruption, and convince every reasonable opponent. Even as things were, the services of 1549 were in substantial agreement with the services of Rome and France in the sixth century, and the great majority of English bishops and priests performed them with the conviction that no essential Catholic doctrine or practice was thereby compromised.

A new epoch came in 1552, when a second Book of Common Prayer was published. Cranmer had adopted some strongly Protestant opinions even before the first book came into use, and was not unwilling to modify it, but in the changes that he made he apparently acted as a tool of the men who managed the boy-king Edward VI. The changes made were in an unmistakably Protestant direction, and included an omission of the more direct prayers for the dead, of passages which implied the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the Sacrament, of the apostolic custom of anointing the sick with prayers for their recovery, and of the traditional ornaments of the churches and the clergy. Whereas in the first English Book of Common Prayer the Mass was directed to be celebrated in such a manner that the congregation would realise that they were assisting at a purified and intelligible form of the mediæval service, when the second book was introduced no English congregation could feel that their parish church was any longer the same familiar home. The second book never received the sanction of the Church, but was used in London,

and at least to some extent elsewhere. The result was disastrous. The conservative party, who disliked these hasty changes, identified themselves more closely with Rome, and were able to taunt the reformers with heresy and vacillation.

The accession of Queen Mary in 1553 put an end to the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The full mediæval services were welcomed gladly, Cranmer was burnt, and his successor, Cardinal Pole, insisted on the most extravagantly Roman theories with regard to transubstantiation and the essentials of ordination. It should be mentioned, however, that the priests ordained by the reformed rite appear to have been regarded as validly ordained, although in some dioceses they were not allowed to officiate unless they received the anointing of their hands which some ancient ceremonialists had added to the primitive rite. In some places they came forward for re-ordination. The cruel persecution of the reformers by Mary caused many of them to take refuge in Switzerland and Germany, where they became infected with the intolerance of Calvin and the rationalism of Zwingli.

The shrewdness of Elizabeth, who became queen in 1558, caused her to see the value of moderation and the desirability of having a Church free from Rome in a State free from Spain. Her action towards the Church was somewhat despotic, but apart from her intervention the Church of England might have become Calvinistic in doctrine and Presbyterian in organisation. She wished to restore the use of the Book of Common Prayer of 1549, and of the ecclesiastical ornaments of the second year of Edward's reign, a year when almost

the whole of the mediæval ceremonial was still retained. With regard to the first point, Elizabeth only succeeded in restoring the book of 1552 with a few significant doctrinal improvements; and with regard to the second point, her success was generally superficial. Legal effect was given to the rule that the mediæval ornaments should be retained, but the law was seldom obeyed. Calvinistic Protestantism, known as Puritanism, was widely spread both among bishops and priests, and the Government exacted large fines from those Roman Catholics who refused to attend the slovenly and distasteful services which were common in the national Church. But we can remember with gratitude that the reign of Elizabeth not only gave us, almost in its present form, our Book of Common Prayer, with all its great capacities, but also produced men of the type of Richard Hooker, who were able to understand the difference between reformation and revolution. Hooker stands at the beginning of a new age. He called men away from the mere negations of controversy, and enabled his immediate successors to make good their foothold on Catholic ground.

During the seventeenth century the history of the Book of Common Prayer was the epitome of the history of Great Britain. The Puritans twice attempted to modify it, and once endeavoured to destroy it. Convinced that the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles were adverse to Calvinism, they were resolved that they should either be mended or ended. Immediately after the accession of James I. in 1603, they approached the King with a request for an alteration in the ceremonies of the Church of

England. The result was the *Hampton Court Conference* of 1604, at which Puritans and Anglicans met together. It became evident that the two parties differed with regard to some of the first principles of theology, and the Conference came to a close. The struggle was renewed in the reign of Charles I. The King actively supported those members of the Church of England who were anxious to vindicate its Catholic character and maintain the ceremonial which Elizabeth had approved. Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the leader of this school. Equally resolute in his opposition to the distinctive tenets of Rome and of Geneva, he enjoyed the hatred of both Jesuit and Calvinist. He helped the Scottish bishops, who had made large concessions to the uncouth habits of Presbyterian worship, to draw up a Book of Common Prayer for Scotland. It contained a Communion Office resembling that of the book of 1549. It came into use in 1637, and met with a bitter and barbarous opposition. The vigour of the Scottish Protestants strengthened the hands of their English sympathisers. Laud and Charles were executed, Episcopacy was abolished, the use of the Book of Common Prayer was prohibited. A Puritan Directory for Worship was set forth in 1645, and a Calvinistic Confession was drawn up at Westminster by an assembly of English and Scottish Presbyterians.

On the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the Puritans made another attempt to eviscerate the Book of Common Prayer. A conference was held in 1661, at the *Savoy Palace*, in the Strand, London, which ended in the same way as the *Hampton Court Conference*. It was followed by the meeting of a committee which

prepared for the revision of the Prayer Book by Convocation. Several changes were made, and the ordination services were slightly altered in such a manner as to emphasise the fact that the Church of England repudiates the Presbyterian theories that a priest has the same authority as a bishop, and that Episcopacy is not necessary in the Church of Christ. After the fall of the Stewart dynasty and the arrival of William III., some of the English bishops themselves tried to make the Book of Common Prayer agreeable to the convictions of the Presbyterians and the Calvinistic King. The Church refused to sanction their proposals, and the Book of Common Prayer remained intact.

The eighteenth century was marked by a growing deterioration in English public worship, and by the year 1800 an intelligent appreciation of the Book of Common Prayer was almost extinct. In Scotland and America there were effected some changes which are both interesting and important. In 1689 William III. disestablished the Church in Scotland, and Presbyterianism was established in its place. The Church was subjected to a series of penal laws, and its numbers steadily diminished. It retained, however, a strong affection for Catholic tradition, and revised the Communion Office of 1637 so as to bring it into still closer conformity with primitive practice. The authentic version of this fine liturgy was published in 1764, and is unquestionably superior to any other Anglican service except the Litany. It was carried to America by Dr. Seabury, who was consecrated by Scottish bishops at Aberdeen in 1784 to be the first bishop of the Church

in the United States. Seabury and other American churchmen resisted an insidious attempt which was ostensibly made to fit the Book of Common Prayer for American use, but was really intended to remodel it on sceptical and Unitarian lines. The sceptical revision was a failure, and Seabury succeeded in introducing into the Communion Office some of the most important parts of the Scottish service.

At the present time the growth of the English people and the spread of the English language seem to foretell that the Book of Common Prayer will have an influence in the world as great as that of the early Roman Service Books which it so frequently resembles. But it certainly cannot fulfil its true function unless it is employed in the best possible manner. Our common prayers are often recited with a zeal destitute of knowledge, and sometimes with neither zeal nor knowledge.

We are familiar with deviations from the spirit of the Book of Common Prayer for which excuses are sometimes found, but for which no adequate defence can be made. Such novelties from Belgium or Zürich formed no part of the religion which S. Augustine brought to England, and they injure the unity and the charity of his spiritual children. The law of worship is the law of faith, and any disloyalty to faith or discipline in public worship must rob our common prayers of that power to edify the believer and convert the wandering which has been granted by Jesus Christ to worship offered in His Name.

The author has used the word 'mediævalist' to describe those members of the Church of England in the sixteenth century who preferred the mediæval

English worship, while often rejecting various mediæval corruptions. The differences between these men and modern English Romanists make it unjustifiable to describe them as Romanists. The author has used the word 'Protestant' in its modern sense. In the seventeenth century the word was often used in a totally different sense, viz. to describe a Christian protesting against the peculiar doctrines and practices of the Roman Church of that day. The word is used in this latter sense in the quotation on page 36 from Hammond, a typical Anglican theologian.

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THE HISTORY OF
THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

CHAPTER I

THE EUCHARIST BEFORE THE COMING OF S. AUGUSTINE

> It was a veritable consecration, hopeful and animating, of the earth's gifts, of all that we can touch and see—of old dead and dark matter itself, somehow redeemed at last, in the midst of a jaded world that had lost the true use of it. PATER, *Marius the Epicurean.*

§ 1. *Origin of the Liturgy.*

THE use of liturgical prayers among Christians has come down from Christ Himself. It is certain that our Lord attended the services of the Synagogue, and that His earliest disciples modelled their worship upon the worship of the Jews, to which they added the Communion of the Body and the Blood of Christ, and discourses by the inspired prophets of the Church. Normal prophesying was a preaching unto 'edification, and comfort, and consolation.'[1] The more exceptional prophesying included some especial witness to the work and Person of our Lord and guidance as to future events. All prophesying was calmly tested by the Church, the marks of a false prophet being the assertion of 'destructive heresies,' a denial of the Divinity of Christ, and 'lasciviousness.'

All this is made plain to us by the New Testament. It is also plain that the Christians, in commemoration

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

of the Resurrection, called the first day of the week 'the Lord's day,' and that they 'gathered together to break bread' upon that day. Following the usage of the Jews with regard to the Jewish Sabbath, the Christians probably consecrated part of the previous night to prayer, and celebrated the Eucharist before the break of day. This certainly seems to have been the case at Troas[1] in A.D. 56. Slaves would doubtless be obliged to work during Sunday, and they would be able to attend the Eucharist and betake themselves to their accustomed work at the usual hours. It is unlikely that the Eucharist was ever celebrated on Sunday evening, and there is no evidence for such a practice. Before the Eucharist was celebrated it was customary, at least in some places, for the Christians to partake together of a social meal. This was probably suggested by the fact that our Lord had instituted the Eucharist at the conclusion of a modified Passover supper. In the apostolic age this social meal was known as the *Agape* or love-feast, and it was regarded as a solemn and religious act. As early as A.D. 55 the love-feast was associated with serious abuses. We find S. Paul sternly rebuking the Corinthians because the richer Christians had their meal prepared in a style different from the meal eaten by their poorer brethren, and because they were guilty of excesses which led to an impious disregard of the Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. In despising Christ in His Sacrament, they were guilty of the sin of those who murdered Him on Calvary.[2] In S. Jude 12 and 2 S. Peter ii. 13 we again find grave abuses connected with the love-feasts.

The early Christian manual known as the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Apostles*, and possibly written before A.D. 100, furnishes us with some interesting details of Christian worship, although the account of

[1] Acts xx. 11. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 27.

Eucharistic service cannot be regarded as at all complete. The love-feast still existed and a prophet might order it to be held, but he was forbidden to partake of it himself—evidently lest he should fall into the sin of the 'shepherds' condemned by S. Jude. Some modern writers hold that in the *Didache* it is implied that the love-feast still preceded the Eucharist. This is not quite certain. It was celebrated every Lord's day, and the congregation confessed their sins before communicating. Great emphasis seems to have been laid upon the idea of the unity effected between the communicants by the Sacrament. It is compared with the unity of the various grains of wheat in the Eucharistic bread. 'As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and gathered together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto Thy kingdom.'

The first important change with regard to the celebration of the Eucharist was the separation of it from the Agape. It is very possible that such disorders as were rebuked by S. Paul and S. Peter ultimately induced the apostles to place the Agape after the Eucharist. About A.D. 112 Pliny, the imperial legate in Bithynia, wrote to the Emperor Trajan about the Christians and their worship. His letter is not free from ambiguity, but it certainly seems to imply that the Agape was eaten some time after the Eucharist. Pliny writes as follows:—

'They maintained that all their fault or error was this, that they had been accustomed on a fixed day to meet before dawn and sing antiphonally a hymn to Christ as a god; and that they bound themselves by a solemn pledge (*sacramento*), not for any crime, but to abstain from theft, brigandage, and adultery, to keep their word, and not to refuse to restore a deposit when demanded. After this was done they used to disperse and assemble again to share a common meal of

innocent food; and even this (they said) they had given up after I had issued the edict by which, in accordance with your instructions, I prohibited the existence of clubs.'

It seems, therefore, that the Christians in Bithynia abandoned the Agape when Trajan opposed such gatherings, but they probably continued their religious worship as before. We should notice that the habit of assembling for the Eucharist before daylight is expressly mentioned by Tertullian (A.D. 200), who says: 'The Sacrament of the Eucharist administered by the Lord at the time of supper . . . we receive even at our meetings before daybreak.'

We fortunately possess two very important accounts of the Eucharist as it was celebrated about A.D. 152 and A.D. 230 respectively. The first occurs in the *Apology* written at Rome by Justin to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. No mention is made of the Agape, and the account of the service is intentionally put into language which would be intelligible to non-Christians: *e.g.* the bishop is called 'the president.' The account is as follows:—

'On the day called Sunday all those who live in the towns, or in the country, meet together; and the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time allows. Then, when the reader has ended, the president addresses words of instruction and exhortation to imitate these good things. Then we all stand up together and offer prayers. And when prayer is ended, bread is brought and wine and water, and the president offers up alike prayers and thanksgivings with all his energy, and the people give their assent, saying the *Amen*. And the distribution of the elements, over which thanksgiving has been uttered, is made, so that each partakes; and to those who are absent they are sent by the hands of the deacons. And those who have the means, and are

so disposed, give as much as they will, each according to his inclination; and the sum collected is placed in the hands of the president, who himself succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and the prisoners, and the foreigners who are staying in the place, and, in short, he provides for all who are in need.'

Another passage in Justin shows that the service was called the *Eucharist* or 'service of thanksgiving,' a peculiarly fitting name, since our Lord especially 'gave thanks' when He instituted the Sacrament. We also find from Justin that the service included—(1) the reading of passages from the Old Testament and the New Testament; (2) a sermon; (3) prayers; (4) the kiss given by the Christians to one another; (5) the oblation of the elements; (6) praise to God the Father through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with a thanksgiving pronounced over the elements which then become 'the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh'; (7) Communion given to those present, the Sacrament being also reserved and taken from the church to those absent. It is interesting to notice that no mention is made of the singing of hymns or psalms, but passages in the New Testament combine with the evidence of Pliny to make us think that singing was not omitted in the public worship of the Christians. The *Canons of Hippolytus* complete the picture, of which the outline is given by Justin. These canons were probably sent to Hippolytus from Alexandria by Dionysius before A.D. 235. The Communion was received fasting, and the deacons and presbyters with the bishop were clothed in white vestments 'more beautiful than all the people and as splendid as possible.' The 'readers' also wore 'festival garments.' These readers read passages of Scripture until all the people were assembled together, and a confession of sins was made before the Kiss of peace

and the offering of the oblations. Three points of special interest are to be discovered in the remaining directions for the service:—

(*a*) We find in these canons the earliest definite reference to the *Sursum Corda*. The service contained the familiar sentences:

> The Lord be with you.
> And with thy spirit.
> Lift up your hearts.
> We lift them up unto the Lord.
> Let us give thanks unto the Lord.
> It is meet and right so to do.

(*b*) We find an explanation of a sentence in the present Roman service which for many centuries was quite unintelligible. After the consecration of the Sacrament the celebrant still prays that God will admit us to the company of the saints, 'not weighing our merits but bestowing Thy pardon, through Christ our Lord, through Whom, O Lord, Thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow upon us *all these good things*.' The last phrase is not very appropriate to the Holy Sacrament, and the only clue to its meaning now remaining in the Roman service is the fact that on Maundy Thursday bishops are accustomed to bless oil for the anointing of the sick at this point of the service. The *Canons of Hippolytus* show that at this point of the service there was originally a thanksgiving over gifts of corn and wine and oil.

(*c*) The formula for administering the Sacrament is given. 'This is the Body of Christ' was said to the communicant, who replied *Amen*. Then, when the cup was given, 'This is the Blood of Christ,' the communicant again replying *Amen*.

(*d*) Directions are given for the observance of the Agape, which took place every Lord's day before sunset. All stood up, and the senior of the clergy present — the bishop if possible — offered a thanksgiving,

breaking a loaf of bread and signing it with the sign of the cross. If no priest was present, each person broke his own bread. After the meal lights were lighted. Sometimes there was a sermon. The service ended with psalms. An Agape was also held when the Eucharist had been offered for the faithful departed.

A few words may here be added with regard to the later history of the love-feast. In the fifth century Socrates, the Church historian, describes certain Egyptian Christians who 'partake of the mysteries (*i.e.* Sacrament) otherwise than is customary with Christians. For after feasting and taking their fill of all kinds of food, about evening they offer the oblation and partake of the mysteries.'[1] This was on Saturday, and not Sunday. It is difficult to say whether this is a primitive practice or whether it arose in times of persecution, when it was safer to meet at night than in the early morning. There is an apparently similar case mentioned by S. Cyprian about 250. He rebukes some Africans for communicating in the evening in their fear lest the odour of the wine should lead to their detection. In any case, the Egyptian practice seems to be a reminiscence of the Agape, and the Agape was known to the Armenian Christians at the same date. The Canons of S. Sahak, a celebrated Armenian patriarch about 400, show that the Agape still existed among the Armenians, but it was considered a sin for people 'to eat and drink in their own houses' before the Eucharist. It is therefore probable that the Agape was celebrated at some time after the Eucharist. John of Otzun, an Armenian born about 688, says that whereas the Lord instituted the Eucharist after supper, 'we now place many hours between the carnal and the spiritual meal.' Whether he refers to the Agape or not is difficult to determine. The Council in Trullo of 692 forbade the Agape to be held in churches, and

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 22.

this proves that the practice was not extinct at the end of the seventh century. But long before this date the Agape had tended to become either a social entertainment for the rich, as at Alexandria, or a dole of food to the poor, as in Western Africa. In either case the true significance of the rite was lost. S. Ambrose found it necessary to suppress it at Milan about 390, and S. Augustine urged the Bishop of Carthage to follow his example. But the practice has left a definite survival in the bread, blessed though not consecrated, and distributed during or after the liturgy in certain countries. This is still customary in all the Eastern Churches. It survived throughout the Middle Ages in England, for the Devonshire rebels in the time of Edward VI clamoured for the retention of 'holy bread,' and the 'pain bénit' is still distributed in certain churches in France.

§ 2. *National Varieties of the Liturgy.*

In the fourth century the Christian Church emerged from the catacombs and enjoyed imperial favour. The great cities of the Roman Empire were adorned with magnificent churches, mostly of that type which has been preserved for us in the older churches of Rome. A great hall with rows of marble columns and a semicircular apse at the end with the altar and the bishop's throne made an almost ideal house of prayer, especially when decorated with all the glory of bright mosaic and vigorous carving. Worship was offered with great magnificence, and in different countries the liturgy was already assuming different forms. But it is this very diversity in the liturgies which makes their substantial unity so remarkable. In a period ranging from the fourth to the seventh century we find that the main features of the different liturgies, so far as we can trace them, are practically identical. Such

an identity points back almost to the apostolic age. There are plain indications of the same features in the second and third centuries, nor was there any attempt to destroy them until the Reformation.

The service was divided into two parts. The first was open to persons who were not yet baptized but were being prepared for Baptism, and was therefore known in later times, though not yet in the fourth century, as the *Mass of the Catechumens.* The second part of the service was only open to the baptized, and was given the name of the *Mass of the Faithful.*

§ i. **The Mass of the Catechumens.** S. Ambrose says, 'After the *lessons and sermon* the catechumens are dismissed.'[1] So S. Augustine of Hippo (died 430), complaining of people talking in church, says, 'What an exertion it is to secure silence in church when *the lessons* are read. If one speaks, all murmur; when the *psalm* is read, it makes silence for itself.' So we find

The Lessons from the Bible. These were not less than three in number, the two last being the Epistle and Gospel.[2] Between the Epistle and Gospel was sung a psalm.

The Sermon.

The Dismissals of any non-Christians who might be present and any catechumens who were being prepared for Baptism. After the dismissals the doors were shut. In the fourth century the word 'missa' was still used in its original sense of 'dismissal,' and therefore S. Augustine, Sermon 49, says, 'After the sermon the *missa catechumenorum* takes place; the faithful will remain.' Afterwards the word 'missa' (in English 'mass') became

[1] *Ep.* xx. *ad Marcell.*

[2] The lessons in some places were read in the fourth century by readers and not by deacons, and at Milan the psalm was sung by a boy reader (*lector parvulus*) and taken up by the congregation.

transferred from these solemn dismissals to the Eucharist in which the dismissals occurred. The word 'missa' is another form of 'missio,' just as 'collecta' is another form of 'collectio.' When the old meaning began to be forgotten any service was at first called 'missa,' and in the sixth century in Spain and Gaul 'evening masses' meant Evensong, and not the Eucharist.

With regard to the Mass of the Faithful S. Augustine, in commenting on 1 Timothy ii. 1, says, 'I prefer in these words to understand this, that all or nearly all the Church is met together: so that we take the *supplications* as mentioned, which we make in the celebration of the mysteries, before that which is on the Lord's table begins to be blessed—*prayers* when it is blessed and sanctified and broken to be distributed, which entire petition almost every Church concludes with the Lord's Prayer—and *intercessions*, or as your manuscripts have it, "petitions," are made when the people are blessed, for then the bishops, like advocates, offer to the most merciful Power those whose cause they have undertaken by the laying on of hands—and when these things are done, and this great Sacrament received, the *thanksgiving* concludes all things, which in these very words the apostles recommended last.'

These words of S. Augustine show us the general tenor of the Mass of the Faithful. A careful comparison of the statements made by writers of the fourth century shows us that this part of the service everywhere contained the following sections, though the different sections were not everywhere arranged in precisely the same order.

§ ii. The Mass of the Faithful—Preparatory Section.

Prayers of the faithful for various blessings.
The Kiss of peace.
The Oblation of the bread and wine and water.

In Rome and Africa the Kiss was not given until just before Communion.

§ iii. The Consecration.

The *Lift up your hearts*, etc.

A solemn prayer of thanksgiving (originally extempore), including (*α*) The Preface and singing of *Holy, holy, holy.*

A continuation of the thanksgiving, including (*β*) a narrative of the institution of the Eucharist by our Lord.

An invocation of the Holy Spirit or divine Word to make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ.

An intercession for the living and the dead (in Egypt this came in later times to be placed before the *Sanctus*: at Rome the intercession for the dead has long been separated from that for the living, but some ancient manuscripts do not place the commemoration of the dead in its present position).

The Lord's Prayer.

§ iv. The Communion, etc.

The Fraction or breaking of the bread and other manual acts, including generally the elevation of the Sacrament.

The Communion, during which a psalm was generally sung.

A Thanksgiving for Communion.

The Dismissal of the faithful.

The thanksgiving, consecration, and intercession included in the third of the four sections just analysed, are in the East known collectively as the *Anaphora.* The earliest complete, or nearly complete, Anaphora which we possess is that of Bishop Serapion of Thmuis

in Egypt, of about A.D. 350. It is of such interest that it is here printed in full:[1]

The Preface.

It is meet and right to praise, to hymn, to glorify Thee the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ. We praise Thee, O uncreated God, Who art unsearchable, ineffable, incomprehensible to every created substance. We praise Thee Who art known of Thy Son the only-begotten, Who through Him wast uttered and interpreted and made known to created nature. We praise Thee Who knowest the Son and revealest to the saints the glories that are about Him: Who art known of Thy begotten Word, and art brought to the sight and interpreted to the understanding of the saints. We praise Thee, O invisible Father, provider of immortality. Thou art the fount of life, the fount of light, the fount of all grace and all truth, O Lover of men, O Lover of the poor, Who reconcilest Thyself to all, and drawest all to Thyself through the sojourning of thy beloved Son. We beseech Thee make us living men. Give us a spirit of light, that 'we may know Thee the true [God] and Him Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ.' Give us the Holy Spirit, that we may be able to tell forth and to relate Thine unspeakable mysteries. May the Lord Jesus speak in us and the Holy Spirit, and hymn Thee through us.

For Thou art 'far above all principality and power and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come' (Eph. i. 21). Before Thee stand thousand thousands and myriad myriads of angels (Dan. vii. 10, Heb. xii. 22), archangels, thrones, dominations, principalities, powers: before Thee stand the two most honourable six-winged seraphim, with two wings covering the face, and with twain the feet, and with twain flying, and crying holy (cf. Is. vi. 2, 3), with whom receive also our cry of "holy" as we say:

[1] See *Bishop Serapion's Prayer Book*, with introduction by the present Lord Bishop of Salisbury (S.P.C.K., 1899).

The Sanctus.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, full is the heaven and the earth of Thy glory.

Oblation and Narrative of the Institution.

Full is the heaven, full is also the earth of Thy excellent glory, Lord of Hosts: fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy participation: for to Thee have we offered this living sacrifice, the unbloody oblation. To Thee we have offered this bread the likeness of the Body of the only-begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy Body, for the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which He was betrayed took bread and brake and gave to His disciples saying, 'Take and eat, this is My Body which is being broken for you for remission of sins.' Wherefore we also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread, and we beseech Thee through this sacrifice be reconciled to all of us and be merciful, O God of truth: and as this bread [1] had been scattered on the top of the mountains and gathered together came to be one, so also gather Thy holy Church out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house and make one living Catholic Church. We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the Blood, for the Lord Jesus Christ, taking a cup after supper said to His own disciples, 'Take, drink, this is the new covenant, which is My Blood, which is being shed for you for remission of sins.' Wherefore we have also offered the cup, presenting a likeness of the Blood.

The Consecration.

O God of truth, let Thy holy Word come to sojourn on this bread that the bread may become Body of the Word, and on this cup that the cup may become Blood of the Truth. And make all who communicate receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the enabling

[1] This passage is borrowed from the *The Teaching of the Apostles*, ch. ix.

of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach. For we have invoked Thee, the uncreated, through the Only-begotten in the Holy Spirit.

The Great Intercession.

Let this people receive mercy, let it be counted worthy of advancement, let angels be sent forth as companions to the people for bringing to nought of the evil one and for establishment of the Church.

We intercede also on behalf of all who have fallen asleep, whose is also the memorial we are making. *After the recitation of the names :*—Sanctify these souls; for Thou knowest all. Sanctify all souls at rest in the Lord. And number them with all Thy holy hosts and give them a place and a mansion in Thy kingdom.

Receive also the thanksgiving of the people, and bless those who offered the oblations and the thanksgivings, and grant health and soundness and cheerfulness and all advancement of soul and body to this whole people through the only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit; as it was and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

Having now sketched the structure of the Holy Eucharist in the fourth century, we may proceed to describe the great national families of the liturgy which already existed between the fourth and seventh centuries.

(i) *The West Syrian Rite.*—This was said in Greek and was used at Antioch. Light is thrown upon it by the writings of S. John Chrysostom, who lived and taught in Antioch before he became Archbishop of Constantinople in 398, and also by the *Apostolic Constitutions*, a manual of ecclesiastical life containing numerous liturgical formulæ, and written at Antioch about 375. The Syrian Service is represented by the Greek 'Liturgy of S. James,' which is still sung at Zante on the festival of that saint. A Syriac version of the

same liturgy is used by the Maronites, a sect which is very numerous in the Lebanon, and has been united with the Roman Church since the twelfth century. Greek remained the literary language of Damascus until the eighth century, but long before that time Syriac had become a cultivated language, and was used in divine worship. This liturgical use of Syriac began when the Syrians separated from the Greek Church, through adopting the Monophysite heresy, which denied the reality of Christ's human nature. Crushed by Moslem domination, the once great and cultured sect of Syrian Monophysites now probably numbers less than 200,000 in Asia Minor and Syria, and about 300,000 in India. They employ a Syriac version of the Liturgy of S. James.

The Palestinian Rite, once used at Jerusalem, is closely akin to the rite used at Antioch. Our knowledge of it is largely derived from the writings of S. Jerome and S. Cyril of Jerusalem, and from the *Pilgrimage of S. Silvia*, a Burgundian lady who stayed in the holy city near the end of the fourth century, and wrote an account of the Church services in such Latin as was then spoken by the people of Burgundy.

(ii) *The East Syrian or Persian Rite.*—This is the rite now used by the Nestorians, who declared that Jesus Christ was two persons, and refused to accept the decisions of the Council of Ephesus held in 431. They were at one time one of the most numerous and active Churches in Christendom. In 850 there were Nestorian metropolitans in India, Merv, and Arabia, and a flourishing mission was established in China about 720. This vast Church now consists only of about 200,000 impoverished people on the borderland of Turkey and Persia. Their liturgy bears the name of 'the apostles Addai and Mari.' Mari, one of the apostles of Mesopotamia, probably lived in the middle of the third century. Addai, whom legends have made a contem-

porary of our Lord, probably lived in the second half of the second century, and taught at Edessa, a large and flourishing city, which became a Roman colony in 244. The Syrian Christians of Malabar, who are now Monophysite, and use the West Syrian rite, were formerly Nestorians. Many of the Persian Nestorians have lately been united with the Orthodox Eastern Church.

(iii) *The Byzantine Rite.*—This great rite has a peculiar importance, inasmuch as it is now the rite used throughout the Orthodox Eastern Church. It stretches almost across the world. It is used in different languages throughout the Russian Empire, also by all Greek-speaking Christians, by the Roumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Georgians, by those of the Orthodox who speak Arabic, and by numerous converts from heathenism in Japan and elsewhere. The rite comprises three liturgies, that of S. John Chrysostom, that of S. Basil, and that of S. Gregory Dialogos. The Liturgy of S. Basil is used on the Sundays of Lent (except Palm Sunday) and on certain holy days. On other days the liturgy is celebrated according to the rite of S. John Chrysostom. The Liturgy of S. Gregory is used on week-days of Lent, when the priest is not allowed to consecrate the Eucharist, but publicly partakes of the Sacrament, which has been reserved for that purpose. The ordinary name of this form of service is the Mass of the 'Pre-sanctified' (*i.e.* 'previously consecrated' Sacrament).

The Armenian Rite is an offshoot of the Byzantine. It is most probable that the Armenians first received some instruction in Christianity from Syrian Christians. This would be easy, for Edessa, the great centre of Syrian Christianity, is near to the passes which give access to Armenia. It is probable that this evangelisation began in the third century. The Armenians, however, regard as the true founder of their Church

S. Gregory the Illuminator, who lived near the beginning of the fourth century. The first Armenian translation of the New Testament was from the Syriac. But at the close of the fourth century the Armenians were in communication with Constantinople and other centres of Greek Christianity. At this period they made an admirable translation of the Bible from the Greek, and they probably accepted the Byzantine rite at that time. The Armenian liturgy is of great beauty, and shows traces of Latin influence dating from the later Middle Ages.

(iv) *The Egyptian Rite.*—The earliest form of the Egyptian rite which we possess is to be found in the precious document which contains the prayers of Serapion, already quoted. It is in Greek, like the more developed Egyptian rite known as the Liturgy of S. Mark. The majority of Egyptian Christians accepted the Monophysite heresy. They emphasised their separation from the Greeks by using in their worship the vernacular language of Egypt known as Coptic, which is descended from the language of ancient Egypt. The Copts still use a Coptic version of the Liturgy of S. Mark, though their vernacular is now Arabic. The orthodox Christians of Egypt have adopted the Byzantine rite.

Christianity spread widely beyond the boundaries of Egypt at an early date. In Egypt it has suffered severely from the encroachments of Muhammadanism, and in Nubia it became extinct in the seventeenth century. It still survives in a corrupt Monophysite form in Abyssinia, which received Christianity from Egypt in the time of Athanasius, A.D. 346. The Abyssinian liturgies are very numerous, and are of the Egyptian type. The long intercession for the Church is inserted between the *Sursum Corda* and the *Sanctus*, a peculiarity which is only found in the liturgies of Egyptian origin.

(v) *The Roman Rite.*—The Roman Church abandoned the use of Greek as its official language in the third century after Christ. The Roman rite has some points of contact with the Egyptian rite. It slowly spread over nearly the whole of Western Europe, and our own Prayer Book is mostly derived directly or indirectly from Roman Service Books of various types. Although it is the ordinary rite used by Christians who are under the authority of Rome, the Roman Church generally permits converts attracted from the Eastern Churches to use a slightly Romanised form of their own services. It is therefore quite a mistake to suppose that absolute uniformity of worship exists in the Roman communion. The oldest form of the Roman Mass is to be found in the 'Leonine Sacramentary,' discovered at Verona about 1735. It is mutilated, and of the original twelve sections corresponding with the twelve months of the year, only nine remain. Unfortunately the most interesting parts are missing, including the Easter ceremonies and the Canon of the Mass, or prayers for the consecration of the Eucharist. The book is purely Roman, containing numerous local allusions to Rome, and showing no trace of the French elements which abound in later Roman Service Books. Its date is almost certainly near 550, as there seems to be a reference to the Ostrogoths who besieged Rome in 538, and the prayer *Hanc igitur* appears without the conclusion added to it by S. Gregory about 595.

(vi) *The Gallican Rite.*—This ancient Latin rite was used in France, in Spain, and in Britain and Ireland. It differs widely from the Roman. In France the Gallican rite was replaced in the eighth century by the Roman rite by a decree of King Pepin, his action being mentioned in a document of Charles the Great, A.D. 789. The Frankish Church was disorganised and in a state of liturgical anarchy, and the king and his successors determined to restore order

by introducing the Roman rite. After the Roman rite was brought into Gaul it became mixed with numerous Gallican ceremonies, and returned to Rome in this adulterated form. Rome, so far from troubling to maintain her ancient rite in its purity, adopted the new Service Books, and has kept them, with additions, to this day. In Spain the Gallican rite was more fortunate than in France. The Church of the Visigoths had a strong centre in the city of Toledo, and the liturgy of Toledo was the liturgy of all Spain. Gradually the conflict between the Roman and the Gallican rite became inevitable. The story goes that in the eleventh century, King Alfonso VI., according to the strange spirit of the age, decided that the rival claims of the two liturgies should be decided by a tournament between two knights. The Roman champion was killed, but the king was unconvinced. So a fire was kindled, and the two Mass Books were thrown into the flames. That of Rome was consumed; that of Toledo was uninjured. The king then arbitrarily commanded the abolition of the Spanish rite. The people were furious, and a compromise was made to the effect that the Roman use should be introduced into the later churches, and the national rite should remain in those of ancient foundation. The old Gallican service of Spain, known by the name Mozarabic, was revised and printed in A.D. 1500 by Cardinal Ximenes, and it is probable that Cranmer knew some of the Mozarabic services. The rite still survives, tended like a hothouse plant, though in its own native air.

A chapel in the cathedral church of Toledo is set apart for Mozarabic services; there are also two Mozarabic parish churches in Toledo, and the old rite is, or was until lately, said at Salamanca. In Portugal it appears to be quite extinct.

In the great diocese of Milan there is used a rite which is called Ambrosian. It contains many Roman

features, including the Roman Canon of the Mass. It is, however, very difficult to decide whether the original Ambrosian service was Roman or Gallican. Students have long been divided into two hostile camps on this question. Our chief authorities for the Milanese services of the fourth century are S. Ambrose and S. Augustine. Their writings do not suggest that there was then much difference between the services of Rome and of Milan. But at a time when it is known that the present Roman Canon of the Mass was already employed at Milan, the manuscripts prove that the Mass sung on the Thursday before Easter was of a type which strongly resembles the Gallican. The present writer is inclined to rank the Ambrosian service with the Gallican.

§ 3. *Western Liturgies in the time of Augustine.*

Owing to a most fortunate circumstance we are able to reconstruct almost the whole of the Gallican Mass as it was in the days of S. Augustine of Canterbury, a reconstruction which is not nearly so easy in the case of the Roman Mass. S. Germanus of Paris, who died in 576, has left us a description of the Gallican service, and by availing ourselves of this description and consulting the oldest liturgical books of Gaul, Britain, and Spain we can imagine ourselves assisting at the holy mysteries in Paris or Toledo at the close of the sixth century. Turning to the Roman rite, we find that the *Ordines Romani* contain the ritual for various services at which the Pope himself assisted. In particular they describe the 'stational' Mass which the Pope celebrated himself, and to which all the clergy and all the faithful were summoned. The *Ordines* are of different dates, but the earliest describe the divine worship of the eighth and ninth centuries. With the help of older books it is possible

to extract from them a fairly good idea of the Roman liturgy of the sixth century.

We will now consider the Gallican Mass with which S. Augustine was familiar, and during which service he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Arles in 597. Comparisons will also be made with the Roman Mass of the period.

MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS.

§ i (*a*).

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
Antiphon.	*Antiphon and Psalm ad Introitum.*
Trisagion.	
	Kyrie eleison.
The Prophecy, i.e. *Benedictus.*	*Gloria in excelsis.*

The service begins with the chanting of an Antiphon, such as is now called the Introit or entrance, and the celebrant enters wearing a white tunic or alb and a very large chasuble with a hood attached. Let us observe that our word chasuble is a Gallican Latin word. 'Casula' means a little house, and it was the name colloquially applied in Gaul to the large dignified robe worn by the clergy and the higher lay officials. The Roman word for a chasuble is 'planeta,' the origin of which word is unknown. The priest would be accompanied by two deacons, probably wearing the same dress as the celebrant, for the chasuble was not yet an exclusively priestly garment.[1] A deacon exhorts the people to be silent, and the celebrant says, 'The Lord be always with you.'

Then the *Trisagion* was sung in Greek and Latin—

[1] During Advent and Lent the deacon and sub-deacon in England continued to wear chasubles throughout the Middle Ages. A statue at Wells Cathedral shows us that their chasuble was long and of thin material, folded so as to be quite narrow, then placed on the left shoulder and passed under the girdle of the alb exactly like a deacon's stole. The Continental custom of clothing the deacons in Lent in chasubles which have been cut down to the size of an English university hood, is a modern barbarism.

'Holy God, Holy mighty, Holy immortal, have mercy upon us'—a beautiful custom of Eastern origin. It was followed by the chant *Kyrie eleison*, another Greek custom introduced into Gaul in the sixth century. The *Kyrie* had previously been introduced into Rome, but in Rome as in the East it was connected with a previously recited litany, whereas in Gaul it was isolated. It still survives in the petition, 'Lord have mercy upon us,' in the answer made by our choirs during the recital of the Commandments. The *Kyrie* was followed by the *Prophecy*, that is, the Benedictus or Song of Zacharias, which we sing at Mattins. Instead of the Benedictus the Roman Church sang the *Gloria in excelsis*, used at the Greek Mattins. This hymn probably dates from the second century, and was lengthened in the fourth century.[1]

§ i (*b*).

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
	Collect.

The Prayer in Rome was called 'Collecta,' in Gaul 'Collectio.' There can be little or no doubt that the name means the prayer said when all the people were collected together and joined in spirit with the celebrant. The chants were regarded as preliminary. A similar prayer is found in the Prayer Book of Serapion, showing the custom of Egypt about A.D. 350.

§ i (*c*).

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
Lesson from Old Testament.	
	Gradual, i.e. *Psalm sung from Gradus or pulpit step.*
Epistle.	
Benedicite.	*Alleluia; or Psalm called Tract sung without repeat.*
Trisagion and Gospel.	

[1] At Rome it was first used at the first Mass of Christmas Day only. Afterwards it was used every Sunday by bishops only. The first *Ordo Romanus* allows priests to sing it only on Easter Day.

Then came the readings from the Bible. Originally there was always a lesson read before the Epistle and Gospel. This lesson was taken from the Old Testament. It is still retained on certain Lenten and Ember days in the Roman Church, and also by the Armenian Church, but it was abandoned long ago by the Greeks, from whom the Armenians derived their liturgy. The so-called Ambrosian service of Milan also retains this lesson, although a modern itching for short Masses and Roman ways has caused it to be frequently omitted by the clergy. After this lesson there was the Epistle, and then the *Benedicite* was sung.[1]

Then began the procession of the Gospel while the Trisagion was chanted. The deacon ascended the marble ambo or pulpit, seven candles being borne before him to signify the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; the clerks sang 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord'; and the deacon read the Gospel. There is reason for thinking that at Rome S. Gregory himself fixed the rule that a deacon should read the Gospel. In the eighth century, and perhaps earlier, incense was used at Rome both at the approach of the celebrant to the altar and on going to the pulpit for the Gospel. About 830 no incense was used in Rome at Mass after the Gospel. After the Gospel came a homily or sermon, and S. German appropriately says that the pastor of the church must so temper his words with art that his rusticity does not offend the wise, and that his proper eloquence does not puzzle the rustics.[2] The Creed was already sung at Mass in Spain, though not in Gaul. It was introduced into the service at Antioch in 471, but at Rome it was not sung until the eleventh

[1] At Rome, when they omitted the Old Testament Lesson, they sang the *Gradual* after the Epistle. Its original place was between the Old Testament Lesson and the Epistle.

[2] Preaching at Rome was rare, as at this period it had become a prerogative of the Pope.

century, by which time the Gallican service had been extinguished in France by the Roman.

§ i (*d*).

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
Litany: collect Post-precem.	*Oremus: Prayers.*
Dismissal of Catechumens.	

In Gaul after the homily came a short litany closely corresponding with the litany still repeated here in the Greek service. The litany was followed by a collect.[1] In Gaul penitents who had been guilty of grievous sin and catechumens being prepared for Baptism were then bidden to depart, and in Rome they were probably dismissed after some prayers. This is the *missa* or dismissal of the catechumens, which in the sixth century was still maintained in Rome as well as in Gaul. The first part of the service concluded with this dismissal. The deplorable ignorance of a great number of the English clergy has led to the astounding modern custom of encouraging the laity to depart just before or after the Offertory, as if they had been guilty of some deadly sin, and were unfit to be present at the Christian sacrifice.

MASS OF THE FAITHFUL.

The second part of the service was preceded in Gaul by an injunction to guard the doors. At this period the original meaning of this injunction was already forgotten, and it was supposed to be a command to the worshippers to keep the door of their lips, but it had originally been a warning to beware of the intrusion of pagans.

[1] After the Creed in the Roman Mass the priest still says, 'Let us pray.' These words are not followed by any common prayer, but it may be regarded as certain that at this point either the 'prayer of the faithful' was said, or a prayer before the dismissal of the catechumens. The prayers now said in the Roman liturgy on Good Friday suggest the latter alternative.

§ ii.

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
Chant and threefold Alleluia: procession with previously prepared oblations.	*Offertory sung: oblation of bread, wine and water.*
	Celebrant washes his hands.
Long invitation to prayer.	*'Pray, brethren,' etc.*
Collect over the oblations.	*Collect called Secreta.*
Commemoration of saints and the departed: collect.	
Kiss of peace: collect.	

'Lift up your hearts,' etc.
'It is meet and right,' etc.
'Holy, holy, holy,' etc.

The Gallican Offertory was a ceremony of great solemnity. The choir sang a chant ending with Alleluia, followed by another verse called the 'Praises,' also ending with Alleluia. Meanwhile a procession entered from the sacristy, one deacon bore the Eucharistic bread in a little tower of some precious workmanship, another bore a chalice containing wine mingled with water. The elements were placed upon the linen altar-cloth or 'corporal cloth,' and covered with a veil of silk embroidered with gold and gems. The oblations, in accordance with Eastern usage, were prepared before the service began, and this practice lingered in France after the introduction of the Roman rite. The Dominican friars, who use a Roman service of a mediæval French character, still mix the chalice before the Mass actually begins, and the same fashion was common in England during the Middle Ages. At Rome, on the contrary, it was the custom for the clergy and laity, and the celebrant himself, to make an oblation of bread and wine to be used for the Eucharist. If the Pope celebrated, the archdeacon

selected some of these oblations, and before the water was added to the wine in the chalice, the wine offered by the deacons was mingled with that offered by the Pope. In the meantime the choir sang the Offertory Psalm. Then the celebrant said, 'Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father almighty,' and over the oblations said the 'Secret' prayer. Similarly in the Gallican service the Offertory was followed by a prayer, which at Milan is called the 'prayer over the veil.'

Then the celebrant in Gaul read the *diptychs* or tablets containing the names of the saints who were specially commemorated and 'all those at rest,' and God was asked to bid their names to be 'written in eternity.' After this commemoration of those who have departed to be with Christ, the living gave to one another, in accordance with apostolic custom, the Kiss of peace. In Spain, and perhaps in Gaul, the choir sang, 'My peace I give unto you; My peace I leave with you; not as the world giveth, give I peace unto you.—A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.'[1]

The supreme moment of the liturgy now approaches. At Rome immediately after the 'Secret' collect, and in Gaul immediately after the Kiss of peace, the priest briefly saluted the people,[2] and then exclaimed, 'Lift up your hearts,' the people responding, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' Next came the prayer which we call the Preface, then named in Gaul the Immolation,

[1] At Rome the Kiss of peace was not given until the solemn breaking of the bread after the consecration and before the communion.

[2] At the present day the Canon of the Roman Mass is not supposed to begin until after the Sanctus and Benedictus. But it was formerly sometimes reckoned as beginning with the salutation given by the priest before 'Lift up your hearts.' It is most reasonable to hold that the Canon ends at the conclusion of the clause added to the 'Our Father.' The whole of the Roman Canon in its Sarum form is printed in Appendix A.

followed by the singing of the words, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, a chant to be found in all the liturgies.

§ iii.

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
Collect called Post-sanctus.	
	Prayer for the Church; the living; commemoration of saints; prayers for the oblation.
Narrative of the Institution by our Lord.	
	Wherefore we; Upon which;
Prayer that the elements may receive a heavenly consecration.	
	Memento of dead: To us also: Through whom (dedication of the fruits of the earth): Our Father: Deliver us.

In Gaul the Sanctus was followed by a prayer called the Post-sanctus, and this led immediately to a recital of the words used by our Lord at His supper in the upper room. The form of these words printed in the Toledo books is almost identical with that of the present Anglican prayer of consecration. After this recital the priest began another prayer, to the effect that the oblation offered to God might be sanctified by the Holy Spirit, and so 'conformed' to the Body and Blood of Christ.

It is of the utmost importance in studying the liturgies to remember that the consecration of the elements was not generally believed to be immediately effected by the words 'This is My Body,' 'This is My Blood,' as in the present English service and in the false interpretation now attached to the Roman service.

The prayer of consecration in the Roman Mass beginning *Te igitur*, consisted of several prayers combined and known even in the time of Gregory as the *Canon*. After the Sanctus the priest recited prayers

for the Church and for the living,[1] and commemorated the saints. This series of prayers has left a survival in our prayer for the Church militant, now placed in a new position. Then came two brief prayers that the oblation might be accepted, and the *Qui pridie*, which begins the recital of our Lord's institution of the Eucharist. Then after a commemoration of our Lord's Passion and Ascension are two clauses beginning respectively *Supra quae* and *Supplices te rogamus*. This was the original consecration, and corresponds exactly with the place occupied in the Greek liturgies by the prayer that the Holy Ghost will make the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. The consecration was very quiet and simple. There was no genuflexion, no censing, no bell-ringing, no carrying of lights. No one denied the sacramental doctrine of the Church, and therefore it was unnecessary to emphasise it by effective ceremonies.

After this consecration came a commemoration of the departed, and another of the living and of the saints, and then the clause beginning *Per quem*, which is a prayer for fruits of the earth dedicated at this part of the Mass.[2] This prayer was wholly unintelligible at the end of the Middle Ages, and its present retention in the Roman Canon is scarcely defensible.

At the end of the Roman Canon S. Gregory placed the *Pater noster*, set, as everywhere else, between a short preface and a prayer developing the words 'Deliver us from evil.'

[1] It is probable that at the beginning of the fifth century the diptychs of the living and of the dead, for whom the prayers of the Church were desired, were read after the *Te igitur*, and that the present *Memento* had not yet been inserted.—Magistretti, *La Liturgia della Chiesa Milanese*, p. 103.

[2] See above, p. 6. The Leonine Sacramentary contains the full formula for the blessing of milk, honey, grapes, etc.

§ iv (*a*).

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
Breaking of the Bread.	*Kiss of Peace.*
Our Father.	*Breaking of the Bread.*

A morsel of the bread is put in the chalice.

In Gaul the Lord's Prayer was not said until after the Fraction or breaking of the bread. This was an elaborate ceremony, the bread being broken and arranged on the paten in the form of a cross while the choir sang an anthem. The whole congregation then said the Lord's Prayer together. The Roman practice was, and still is, for the priest to say the Lord's Prayer alone until the people respond 'but deliver us from evil.' Both in Gaul and at Rome a portion of the bread was placed in the chalice. In Gaul, as in the East, the priest accompanied his action with the words, 'Holy things to the holy.' In the East the Sacrament was elevated at these words.

§ iv (*b*).

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
Blessing of the people.	

Communion while a chant is sung.

In Gaul the celebrant then blessed the people, and this custom of blessing the people before Communion was continued in France by the bishops after the introduction of the Roman rite. The English bishops maintained it until the Reformation. It still survives at Lyons. The celebrant then communicated himself and gave Communion first to the clergy and then to the laity, who approached close to the altar. The men received the Body of our Lord in their hands as we do, the women received it not in the naked hand but in the hand covered with a linen napkin. A

deacon administered the chalice to the laity, who communicated in both kinds until the thirteenth century.[1] Some of the large chalices which were used for the communion of the people had two handles. During communion a psalm or hymn was sung both in Gaul and at Rome. Our English hymn, 'Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord,' is a translation of an ancient communion hymn used in Ireland.

§ iv (*c*).

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.
Long invitation to give thanks.	*'Let us pray.'*
Post-communion Collect.	
Dismissal.	*Dismissal.*

The Mass concluded in the simplest fashion. The celebrant invited the congregation to give thanks 'that we who have spiritually received the sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ may be freed from the sins of the flesh, and be worthy to become spiritual.'[2] A short collect followed. The congregation was then dismissed, probably without any further blessing, the supreme blessing of receiving Jesus Christ being regarded as enough for all their needs. At Rome, as soon as the collect of thanksgiving (known as the Post-communion) was ended, a deacon pronounced the formula *Ite, missa est*—'Go, it is the dismissal.' In the later Middle Ages, this meaning of the word 'missa' having been forgotten, the formula had ceased to be intelligible. It has now been rendered doubly unintelligible by the prayers added at the end of every Low Mass by command of Pope Leo XIII.

At the end of this chapter is printed a table of Liturgies. It gives in parallel columns, first, the order of the Syrian Liturgy of the fourth century, found

[1] It is hardly necessary to say that all communicated fasting.
[2] From the form in the *Missale Gothicum* for Christmas Day.

chiefly in the Apostolic Constitutions; secondly, the Liturgy of S. Basil, used in Constantinople; thirdly, the Gallican Liturgy, used in France; fourthly, the Roman Liturgy. The three last are given, as nearly as can be ascertained, in the form used about A.D. 600.

MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS.

§ i.

Early Syrian.	*Byzantine—S. Basil.*
	'Little Entrance' of priest.
	Trisagion.
Old Testament Lesson.	Old Testament Lesson.
Psalm.	Antiphon 'Prokeimenon.
Epistle.	Epistle.
Psalm.	Alleluia.
Gospel.	Gospel.
Sermon.	Sermon.
	Litany and Prayer.
Prayers and Dismissals.	Prayers and Dismissals.

MASS OF THE FAITHFUL.

§ ii. Preparatory Section.

Litany and Prayers.	Prayers of the Faithful.
Kiss of peace.	
Diptychs.	
Offertory.	Offertory: 'Great Entrance': procession of previously prepared oblations: Chant.
Celebrant washes hands.	Celebrant washes hands.
Private Prayer.	Prayer.
	Diptychs of dead and living.
	Kiss of peace.
	Creed.

MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS.

§ i.

Gallican.	*Roman.*
Antiphon.	Antiph. and Ps. ad Introitum.
Trisagion.	
Kyrie eleison.	Kyrie eleison.
Prophetia, *i.e.* Benedictus.	Gloria in excelsis.
Collectio.	Collecta.
Old Testament Lesson.	(Old Testament Lesson) Gradual.
Epistle.	Epistle.
Benedicite.	Alleluia or Tract.
Gospel (procession: Trisagion).	Gospel.
Sermon.	Sermon.
Litany: collect Post-precem.	Oremus: (Prayers).
Dismissals.	(Dismissals).

MASS OF THE FAITHFUL.

§ ii. Preparatory Section.

Offertory: procession of previously prepared oblations: Chants 'Sonum' 'Laudes.'	Offertory: oblations prepared and offered: Antiphon and Psalm 'Offertorium.'
	Celebrant washes hands.
Collect over oblations.	Secreta, a collect.
Diptychs of dead read, saints commemorated: collect 'Post nomina.'	
Kiss: collect 'ad Pacem.'	

Early Syrian.	*Byzantine—S. Basil.*
§ iii. Anaphora.	
'The grace,' 2 Cor. xiii. 14.	'The grace.'
Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν.	Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας.
Ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς.	Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.
Ἅγιος.	Ἅγιος . . . Ὡσαννά.
Εὐλογητός.	Εὐλογημένος.
Ἅγιος γὰρ εἶ.	Ἅγιος εἶ.
Narrative of the Institution.	Narrative of the Institution.
Μεμνημένοι οὖν (commemoration of Passion, Resurrection, Ascension).	Μεμνημένοι οὖν (commemoration of Passion, Resurrection, Ascension).
Epiklesis or Invocation of Holy Spirit.	Epiklesis or Invocation of Holy Spirit.
The Great Intercession (the Church, emperor, saints, persecutors).	Καὶ μνήσθητι πάντων (all faithful departed, the Church, emperor, all men).
Blessing of the people.	Blessing of the people.
Πάτερ ἡμῶν, with preface and embolismos.	Πάτερ ἡμῶν, with preface and doxology.
§ iv. The Communion.	
Prayer before Communion.	Prayer before Communion.
Fraction.	Fraction (κλάσις).
	Commixtion.
Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.	Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.
Communion: Ps. xxxiv.	Communion: Chant.
Thanksgiving.	Thanksgiving.
Prayer for blessing.	
Ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.	Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν.

Gallican.	*Roman.*
	Dominus vobiscum.
Sursum corda.	Sursum corda.
Vere dignum et justum.	Vere dignum et justum.
Sanctus . . . Hosanna. . . .	Sanctus . . . Hosanna . . .
Benedictus.	Benedictus.
	CANON MISSAE.
	Te igitur: [Diptychs].
	Memento: Communicantes.
	Hanc igitur: Quam oblationem.
Vere sanctus (collect 'Post-sanctus').	
Narrative of the Institution.	Qui pridie.
	Unde et memores (commemoration of Passion, Resurrection, Ascension).
	Supra quae.
Invocation in collect called 'Post-secreta' or 'Post-mysterium.'	Supplices te . . . jube haec perferri per manus Angeli.
	Memento etiam (the dead).
	Nobis quoque (the living and the saints).
	Per quem (fruits, etc., dedicated).
	Pater noster, with preface and embolismos.

§ iv. THE COMMUNION.

Fraction: Antiphon sung.	Fraction.
Pater noster, with preface and embolismos.	
Commixtion.	Commixtion.
Blessing of the people.	Kiss of peace.
Sancta sanctis.	
Communion: Chant.	Communion: Psalm.
Post-Communion Collect.	Post-communion Collect.
Dismissal.	Ite, Missa est.

CHAPTER II

THE EUCHARIST FROM S. AUGUSTINE TO THE REFORMATION

> The Protestants of the Church of England believe and reverence, as much as any, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, as the most substantial and essential act of our religion, and doubt not but the word *Missa, Mass*, hath fitly been used by the Western Church to signify it, and herein abhor or condemn nothing, but the corruptions and mutilations which the Church of Rome, without care of conforming themselves to the Universal (Church), have admitted in the celebration. H. Hammond, Archdeacon of Chichester, *Dispatcher Dispatched*, A.D. 1659.

§ 1. *Changes in the Roman Rite in England.*

The great liturgical changes which took place in the west of Europe after the introduction of Christianity into England were partly changes in the rite or service employed, and partly changes in the interpretation and performance of the service. The changes in the rite were caused by the gradual spread of the Roman rite, its absorption of alien elements, and the birth of numerous diocesan uses of a Roman type adapted to the French and Teutonic love of variety and ceremonial.[1] All the services of the Roman Church are

[1] It is worth noting that most of the ceremonies of the modern Roman Church which are of a spectacular character are not of Roman origin. Among such must be mentioned the censing of *persons* and oblations, the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, the manner of employing lights at Tenebrae, the anointing of a priest at his ordination, and perhaps Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

of this mixed Roman type, and we have already observed that only one manuscript exists to show us the character of the Roman liturgy free from all foreign influences. This is the *Leonine Sacramentary*, which shows us the Roman liturgy of the time of S. Gregory and S. Augustine. The *Gelasian Sacramentaries* show us the earliest stage of admixture. The oldest was written in the seventh century, or in the early years of the eighth, for the use of some church in the Frankish dominions, possibly for the abbey of S. Denis. It formed part of the library of Queen Christina of Sweden, and is now in the Vatican. It contains several Gallican elements, such as—(*a*) features in the ordination services; (*b*) the arrangement and character of the feasts. The Roman book employed by the compiler was probably earlier than A.D. 731, but certainly is not as old as the time of Gelasius, who was Pope from 492 to 496.

The next stage of development is represented by the so-called *Gregorian Sacramentaries*. Near the end of the eighth century Pope Adrian I. sent to Charles the Great, at his request, a copy of the Roman Sacramentary in the form which, as it was then believed, had been given to it by S. Gregory. This pattern-book formed the basis of the class of Sacramentaries known as Gregorian. It was a book intended for use in Rome by the Pope himself, but Adrian and Charles meant it to be adopted by the Church of Gaul. It was immediately copied and supplemented with various services, such as those for marriages and funerals, and the reconciliation of penitents. The original and the supplements became gradually fused together. For some time the Gelasian Sacramentary continued to exist by the side of its rival, and was probably used in many places in the ninth century, and perhaps in the tenth. It is impossible that even the oldest Gregorian Sacramentaries exactly represent the Roman rite of the

times of S. Gregory. This is proved by the feasts which they contain, such as that of S. Gregory himself, and festivals of the Blessed Virgin, which are known to be subsequent to his time.[1]

The few books which now remain to show us the character of the liturgies used in Great Britain and Ireland before the Norman Conquest come under two heads: (*a*) liturgies used in Celtic churches, originally Gallican but in process of being Romanised; (*b*) liturgies used in Anglo-Saxon churches, Roman but with a few Gallican features.

The most complete relic of the ancient Celtic Eucharist is the Stowe Missal, probably written in Tipperary in the tenth century. The Missal contains not only the Eucharist but also an Order of Baptism, a form for the Visitation of the Sick, and another for Extreme Unction. The Canon of the Mass is Roman, and is expressly named after 'Pope Gelasius.' It nevertheless contains several important additions: *e.g.* after the words 'As often as ye do this ye do it in remembrance of Me' are added, 'Ye shall declare My Passion, ye shall announce My Resurrection, ye shall hope for My Advent, until I shall come to you again from heaven.' In the *Memento*, or commemoration of the faithful departed, there is a commemoration of the

[1] In the Book of Common Prayer five entire collects are Leonine, viz. those for Sunday III. after Easter, and V., IX., XIII., XIV. after Trinity. The Gelasian Sacramentary contains these collects and contributes the second Morning collect, a few words of the third Morning collect, the second and third Evening collect, the collect 'for Clergy and People,' those for Sunday IV. in Advent, Innocents' Day, Palm Sunday, II. for Good Friday, the first half of that for Easter Day, those for fourteen other Sundays, the collect 'Assist us mercifully,' and 'O Lord, we beseech Thee,' in the Commination. The Gregorian Sacramentary hands these on and adds those for S. Stephen, S. John the Evangelist, the Epiphany, five Sundays after Epiphany, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Sundays II., III., IV., V. in Lent, I. for Good Friday, half of the Easter Day collect, those for Ascension and Whitsunday, the Purification, Annunciation, S. Michael, S. Paul. 'Prevent us,' and others.

patriarchs, apostles, and martyrs, followed by the names of as many as forty-seven saints. The *Fraction* or breaking of the bread is exceedingly elaborate, resembling the Mozarabic ceremony.

The *Book of Deer* is a memorial of the Scottish Celtic Church, containing a portion of the service for the Communion of the Sick. It was written before 1130. After giving communion to the sick the priest recites several beautiful sentences, mostly from the Holy Scriptures, and interspersed with Alleluias, such as—'We offer the sacrifice of praise with exultation. Alleluia. Alleluia. I will receive the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord. Alleluia. Alleluia.'

A few fragments of Gallican origin are to be found in some other Celtic books of Irish origin, such as the *Book of Dimma*, which dates from the seventh century, and is a Mass for the Sick. But the only important Irish book of a purely Gallican type is the famous *Antiphonary of Bangor*, belonging to Bangor in Ireland. It is preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It is of the seventh century, and free from all Roman influence. The greater part of it consists of anthems, hymns, and collects which belong to the Divine Service or daily Offices of the Church. But it also contains some very important liturgical or Eucharistic portions. There is a unique form of the Creed, very strongly asserting the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, the Our Father without a preface or embolismos, a *Gloria in excelsis* resembling that of the Eastern rites, and an exquisite hymn to be sung during communion, now translated into English as 'Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord.'

The liturgy used by the Anglo-Saxons was Roman. S. Augustine, having observed the difference between the Roman rite and the Gallican rite, wrote to S. Gregory to ask what customs he ought to adopt in

England. The Pope replied, 'You, my brother, know the custom of the Roman Church in which you remember that you were reared. But I am content that whether in the Church of Rome or in that of the Gauls, or in any other Church, you have found anything that can better please Almighty God, you select it with carefulness, and in the Church of the English, which is yet new in the faith, implant with special instruction what you have been able to collect from many churches. For we ought not to love things for the sake of places, but places for the sake of things.' These masterly words sound strange enough to us who live with those who think no vestment too vulgar and no prayer too womanish if it be only thoroughly modern and thoroughly Italian. Nor can we tell how far Augustine followed the advice of Gregory. Possibly he only asked the question under the impression that the Celtic bishops in Britain would acknowledge his authority—an idea in which he was disappointed. The close intercourse which existed between England and Rome was unfavourable to the retention of Gallican usages in England.

Two famous Missals, named respectively after *Leofric*, Bishop of Exeter, and after *Robert of Jumièges*, who became Bishop of London in 1044, and then Archbishop of Canterbury, show us the character of English worship in the eleventh century. The oldest part of the Leofric Missal was apparently brought by Leofric from the Continent. It was written in Lotharingia early in the tenth century, supplemented by an Anglo-Saxon Kalendar written about 970 and a selection of Masses, and then presented to the cathedral church of Exeter by Leofric. The original part is simply a Sacramentary of the so-called Gregorian type. The gorgeous Missal of Robert of Jumièges closely resembles that of Leofric. Both contain some Gallican features. Thus the Leofric Missal contains the bless-

ings pronounced according to the Gallican rite by the bishop at Mass before the Communion, and the Jumièges Missal contains Gallican prayers for a Mass in commemoration of S. Leodegar or Leger. Both these Missals contain the Rogation Days, which are of Gallican origin, but had been introduced at Rome about 800. These days had no place in the pattern-book sent by Adrian to Charles the Great, and nevertheless the Mass for these days is not Gallican, but is the Mass which in Adrian's book was appointed for the 'Greater Litany' of April 25. It should be noticed that the Leofric Missal and the Jumièges Missal, although they belong to the Gregorian type, show the influence of the earlier Roman books known as Gelasian.[1]

After the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, the influence of French liturgies upon the English naturally continued. No new principles were introduced thereby, and the later mediæval English liturgies are of the same type as those of the Anglo-Saxon period, though still more composite. The ritual of the different dioceses varied considerably even in some of the prayers in the Order of the Mass. The most important of these diocesan 'uses' were those of Hereford, of York,[2] and of Sarum or Salisbury. We must add a few words to explain the origin of the use of Sarum, and the chief sources from which our knowledge of it is derived, inasmuch as it is far the most important of English mediæval uses, and was followed not only over a large part of England but also in Scotland and Ireland.

The origin of the use of Sarum was attributed to S. Osmund, who became bishop of that see in 1078.

[1] For further information about ancient Sacramentaries see Delisle, *Mémoires sur d'Anciens Sacramentaires.*

[2] Where the York use differs from the Sarum, the former often has affinities with the Gregorian Sacramentary.

This was an era when important changes began to take place in our English cathedral churches. In old times the bishop had sat in the apsidal east end of his church, surrounded by his clergy *in capitulo*, *i.e.* in the head of the upper end of the church. In this place all business and discipline were ordinarily transacted by the bishop and his clergy. By degrees, however, the bishop had to be absent more and more, and he granted many of his rights to this body of clergy, or *capitulum*, as it came to be called. The *capitulum*, in English 'chapter,' became divided into residentiary and non-residentiary members, and rules for the dignity and duties of the residentiary clergy were drawn up. The Sarum *Consuetudinary* is such a book of rules. It dates from about 1210, when Richard Poore was dean. Some of it is probably older than the time of Poore, and it is possible that it enshrines some liturgical prescriptions of S. Osmund. The *Customary* is based upon the Consuetudinary, and is a copy of such parts of it as were of most general importance. These were added to the *Ordinal*, which was a Service Book for choir use, being a guide-book to the rest of the Service Books, showing how the various services and parts of services were to be conducted. The Consuetudinary of Sarum mainly showed what person ought to perform a particular part of the service; the Ordinal showed him how to do it. The rubrics of the later Service Books are a fusion of the two.

A considerable number of printed Sarum Mass Books still remain. The rubrics are comparatively few, and our knowledge of the service has to be supplemented from mediæval pictures, books of private devotion, and hostile criticisms by reformers. A list of the more important Service Books is given in our next chapter.

§ 2. *Corruptions in Worship.*

The Latin service must always have been unintelligible to the greater number of the laity in England and other Teutonic countries. In France and Italy and Spain, where corrupt Latin was spoken, good Latin was perhaps as much understood in the seventh century as the English of our Prayer Book is understood in parts of England. In France the introduction of the Roman services instead of the Gallican came at a time when Latin was already imperfectly understood, and the change probably caused the laity to take less part in the responses and singing. Nevertheless it was still the custom for the clergy to say the whole of Mass aloud, except the Secret Prayer and the Canon. But when no one understood Latin any more the clergy repeated the whole of Low Mass in a low voice, in spite of the fact that the practice was officially condemned both in England and on the Continent. Finally, at High Mass they began the practice of reading part of the service while the choir was singing another part, or even allowed the greater part of the Creed and Preface to be performed on the organ without any singing. In this way some of the most edifying parts of the service were completely obscured.[1]

Another much more serious fault was the fact that the laity ceased to communicate as often as they had done formerly. At the beginning of the English Reformation the laity probably had little or no feeling against so-called sacerdotalism. Many of them heard

[1] At the present day the Sanctus is sometimes actually stopped because the celebrant has almost finished the prayers of the Canon preceding the consecration before the Sanctus is ended. In ancient times the Canon would not have been even begun until the music was finished.

Mass every day, many men who pursued secular callings were themselves in minor orders, and must have known perfectly well that the priest did not claim to belong to an exclusive caste. He confessed his sins to the parish clerk and the laity as he bowed himself at the altar steps before he began the Mass, and at the Offertory he reminded his 'brethren and sisters' that the sacrifice of the Mass was theirs as well as his. But the laity allowed the clergy to do what they ought to have done for themselves; they liked the priest to communicate often, but they disliked doing so themselves. In the eighth century, Bede, the first great English historian, said that in Rome many Christians communicated every Sunday and festival, and he wished that the same custom might be followed in England.[1] But communions were made more and more rarely. In the fourteenth century Archbishop Sudbury directed that the people should not communicate less than three times a year, thereby showing how widely the English people had departed from primitive usage. By the beginning of the sixteenth century it was usual to communicate only once a year. In Rome the laity then thought it wrong to communicate more frequently; in England the rebels of Devonshire and Cornwall who protested against the English Prayer Book of 1549 demanded that no one but the priest should communicate more than this once. In 1509 the devout Lady Margaret, the patroness of English learning, was regarded as a marvel in that she communicated 'fullnigh a dozen times a year.' One of the happiest changes of the sixteenth century was the attempt made to increase the number of communions both in the Church of England and in the Church of Rome, and although there is nothing less desirable than the practice of a merely mechanical conformity with the primitive rule, we must admit

[1] *Ep. ad Ecgbertum*, § 15.

that many of the most serious religious difficulties would have been obviated if that rule had always been devoutly kept.[1]

At the end of the Middle Ages communions were not only rare, but they were also mutilated by the withdrawal of the chalice from the assistants, whether clerical or lay. When the faith was first brought to England all had received the precious Blood from the chalice, and some of the more ancient churches on the Continent of Europe still preserve in their treasuries the large chalices which were employed in administering the Sacrament to the people. An exaggerated fear of the possible danger of spilling the contents of the chalice led to such decisions as those of the Lambeth Constitutions in 1281, in which it was forbidden that the laity in smaller churches should partake of the chalice.[2] For some time it was customary to give the lay folk unconsecrated wine and water, which they drank after receiving the Body of our Lord. This is mentioned very clearly in the fifteenth century *Instruc-*

[1] There is a prayer in the Roman Missal which appears to have been actually altered in order to accommodate itself to the late mediæval practice. At the end of the Mass the priest now says, 'May Thy Body, O Lord, which I have taken, and the Blood which I have drunken, cleave to my heart.' In the ancient Gothic Missal the words are, 'May Thy Body, O Lord, which *we* have received and Thy chalice which *we* have drunken,' etc.

[2] In the middle of the twelfth century, the practice was being introduced into England, as is shown by Robert Pullen. He was familiar with three usages, communion in one kind, communion in both kinds, and communion with *intinction*, a ceremony in which a little wine was poured over the hosts given to communicants. He strongly opposes this last practice, which was condemned by an English Council in 1175. It had previously been sanctioned by a Council of Tours for the communion of the sick, 'in order that the presbyter may truthfully say to the sick man, the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ avail for thee . . . unto everlasting life.' Cardinal Bona ridicules this statement of the Council of Tours. It is, of course, contrary to modern Roman theology. The Lambeth decision of 1281 was ignored by a Synod held at Exeter in 1287, which distinctly mentions communion in both kinds (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 133).

tions for Parish Priests, by John Myrc, and in the North of England until the very eve of the Reformation the laity were permitted to receive wine, though it was probably not consecrated. Communion was given in both kinds until the Reformation at the great abbeys of Monte Cassino, Cluny, and S. Denis. As late as the thirteenth century the deacon and sub-deacon always communicated with the priest who sang High Mass, but even this practice was gradually abandoned. At Cluny and S. Denis it survived until the eighteenth century, and it is still the custom when the Pope sings Mass himself. The habit of the celebrant communicating alone was emphasised by another change. The proper time in the service for the people to communicate was during the Mass, immediately after the priest had communicated and before he rinsed the chalice. At first only the sick received Holy Communion in any other way. But Langland's famous poem *Piers the Plowman*, in which we find such a multitude of details concerning the daily life of our forefathers in the fourteenth century, shows us that it was already the practice to be 'houselled,' *i.e.* communicated, after the Mass was over. This is still a common practice in Roman Catholic countries, although the wording of the service certainly implies that the people ought to communicate during the Mass and not after it.

With the separation of communion from worship there arose certain superstitious beliefs concerning the nature of the worship offered to God in the Mass. There is a good deal of evidence to show that the presence of Christ in the Sacrament was often regarded as a material presence similar to His presence in the manger or upon the cross, although it was concealed from human eyes. The better theologians of the Middle Ages, such as S. Thomas Aquinas and S. Bonaventura, absolutely repudiated the notion that the presence of our Lord in the Sacrament is a material

presence limited by the laws which limit our material bodies. In early Christian times the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Eucharist was not elaborately defined. Nevertheless it seems to have been universally believed by intelligent orthodox Christians that the outward signs of bread and wine remained real, but that the effect of the prayer of consecration was that the Holy Spirit and the divine Word attached to those outward signs the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. Language was used which stated that the bread and wine became the Body and Blood of Christ, not that it was meant that they ceased to be bread and wine, but that they became dignified by a union of their own properties with the essential properties of Christ's Body and Blood. This doctrine is plainly expressed by S. Irenaeus, who was the pupil of S. Polycarp, who was the pupil of S. John. He says, 'It is no longer common bread but Eucharist, composed of two things, both an earthly and a heavenly.'[1] In the same way Scripture itself designates that which is received as both 'bread' and 'the Body of Christ.' The presence of Christ in the Sacrament was originally regarded as none the less real because it was spiritual.

But long before the time of Thomas Aquinas there was a tendency to explain 'the inward part or thing signified' in the Sacrament as material. A notorious instance of this is afforded by the declaration which Pope Nicholas II. forced Berengarius to accept in 1059. It contains the assertion that the Body and Blood of our Lord 'are *sensually*, not sacramentally only, but actually handled and broken by the hands of the priests, and ground by the teeth of the faithful.'[2] This

[1] For other references see *Early Christian Doctrine*, p. 75 ff. (Rivingtons).

[2] It is worth noting that S. Thomas Aquinas openly denies this.—*In* iv. *Sent.* Dist. x. q. 1. a. 1.

repulsive statement implies a *physical* transformation of one material thing into another material thing. Then the philosophic 'schoolmen' tried to defend the doctrine of the Real Presence in a more subtle manner. They propounded the doctrine of a *metaphysical* and non-physical transubstantiation. They were wont to describe everything as consisting of 'substance' and 'accidents.' The accidents were thought to be that part of a thing which we can know by our outward senses. The substance was thought to be a mysterious something which exists behind everything that we can see and touch, and exists independently of it while giving it reality. It was therefore said that after consecration the accidents of bread and wine and all the properties of bread and wine (such as that of giving nourishment) still remain, but that the substance of the bread and wine was replaced by the mysterious spiritual substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. The fourth Lateran Council, held at Rome in 1215, accepted the theory and said that the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of Christ.

Unfortunately the grosser view tended to prevail. This was especially the case in England, where the word 'substance' was generally used, as we use it, of a material physical substance. This was illustrated by the trial of Sir John Oldcastle in 1413 on a charge of heresy. He heartily admitted that 'the most worshipful Sacrament of the altar is Christ's Body in form of bread, the same Body that was born of the blessed virgin our lady Saint Mary.' But Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted to make him declare that in the Mass 'the *material* bread that was before is turned into Christ's very Body.' Oldcastle denied this, and was burned partly in consequence of his denial. The persistence of the materialistic theory in England is shown by the fact that in 1556 Sir John Cheke was made to reaffirm the

very confession required of Berengarius. The official doctrine of the Roman Church was again stated at the Council of Trent in 1551, and is always explained as the schoolmen such as Thomas Aquinas explained it. But the Council of Trent did not explicitly condemn the materialistic doctrine.

The popularity of the materialistic view was increased by popular legends which passed from country to country with some gruesome story about the impious Jews who had insulted the holy mystery and had been rebuked by the appearance of living blood in the consecrated bread; and one of the most popular of religious pictures was a representation of S. Gregory saying Mass before an altar on which he suddenly beheld Christ crucified and bleeding. The Ascension of our Lord and the nature of His ascended Body and His present work became half forgotten in the emphasis that was laid upon His sufferings. And this makes it necessary for us to consider the meaning of such phrases as 'the Eucharistic sacrifice' and 'the sacrifices of Masses.'

In the primitive days of the Church it was a general custom to describe this service as a 'sacrifice.' S. Paul implied this when he reminded the Corinthians[1] that the heathens who partook of a sacrifice offered to heathen gods did this in order to identify themselves with those false deities, and that the Christian identified himself with Christ when he partook of the dedicated Sacrament. In the *Teaching of the Apostles*, xiv., and in Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, 70, the Eucharist is represented as the pure sacrifice or offering foretold by Malachi.

S. Cyprian about A.D. 250 speaks of 'offering the Blood,' and 'offering the chalice in commemoration of the Lord.' The most ancient Christian writers unite in showing that the Church believed that the offering

[1] 1 Cor. x. 14-21.

of the whole service was regarded as the offering of a sacrifice. It was chiefly so regarded because it included the oblation of bread and wine which became the Body and Blood of Christ, so that the worshippers could plead before the Father the merit of Christ's work in a more special manner than in their ordinary thanksgivings and prayers. In harmony with their primitive belief we find that later writers, such as S. Ambrose, A.D. 390, and Paschasius Radbertus, A.D. 840, point out the identity of our worship in the Eucharist with the present work of Christ. For our Lord, as our High Priest, 'hath somewhat to offer,' viz. Himself in heaven (Heb. viii. 3), where 'He ever liveth to make intercession' for us (Heb. vii. 25). Christ in heaven pleads the work of Calvary,[1] and His people share His action when they mystically represent the shedding of His Blood and proclaim His death. The offering of the Eucharist is therefore the offering of a sacrifice, not only because it is the offering of all that we are and all that we have to God, but because in it we spiritually offer the Passion of Christ Who is 'the propitiation for our sins' to the Father. Therefore 'we have an altar' (Heb. xiii. 10).

Such a sacrifice involves no repetition of the death of Christ, although the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present and the separate consecration of the bread and wine is a picture of the separation of Christ's Body and Blood upon the cross. The notion of such a repetition arose in the latest and most debased mediæval belief. Some of the great Catholic theologians of the Middle Ages entirely avoid language which would suggest that our Lord is made subject to a new destruction in the Eucharist. Thus S. Thomas Aquinas says that the immolation of Christ in the Eucharist is 'a representa-

[1] If Christ did not 'offer' His Blood in heaven, His action would fail to correspond with that of the Jewish high-priest as described in Hebrews ix. 7.

tive image of the Passion.' Watson, who was Bishop of Lincoln in the time of Queen Mary, says, Christ in heaven and we His mystical Body on earth do but one thing: for Christ being a Priest for evermore after His Passion and Resurrection entered into heaven and there appeareth now to the countenance of God for us, offering Himself for us, representing His Passion and all that He suffered.'[1]

But the idea of 'the sacrifices of Masses' which prevailed at the end of the Middle Ages was totally different from the earlier doctrine. There was no authoritative doctrine on the subject, but the doctrine popularly held in the fifteenth century is plain. First, the belief that Christ is materially present in the Sacrament led to the idea that He is carnally offered, so that each Mass was regarded as an inferior but precious repetition of Christ's suffering and death.[2] Secondly, it was held that a man whose spiritual life had never risen higher than such repentance as is produced by fear of punishment, could, either in this world or in purgatory, obtain forgiveness of sins and remission of punishment if a priest could be induced to say a sufficient number of Masses on his behalf. Such a theory must have deadened the conscience both of the layman who trusted to be thus forgiven and of the priest who sold his services for this purpose. Side by side with this doctrine there came into existence before the Reformation another perverted notion of the sacrifice of the Mass. A writer of the fifteenth century,

[1] See Field, *Of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 81 (Cambridge edit.).

[2] There has been a more modern Roman revival of a somewhat similar theory, though there is also a school of Roman Catholic theologians who hold a totally different theory. There is probably no subject on which Roman theologians are so much divided as the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass. See Rev. B. J. Kidd, *Later Mediæval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice* (S.P.C.K.), and Vacant, *Histoire de la Conception du Sacrifice de la Messe* (Delhomme, Paris, 1894).

whose sermons were unfortunately bound up with the works of the great schoolman Albertus Magnus, asserts distinctly that 'as the Body of the Lord was once offered on the cross for the original debt,' so the sacrifice of the Altar was instituted 'to be offered on the altar continually for our daily transgressions.' That is to say, the death of Christ was regarded as an atonement for the sin of Adam which tainted his descendants, while each Mass was regarded as removing the guilt of men's daily sins. This doctrine is described by the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg in 1530, and by Becon in his *Comparison between the Lord's Supper and the Pope's Mass*[1] in 1559. It is strongly condemned by both the 2nd and the 31st Articles of the Church of England. The doctrine is a complete perversion of the true doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and led first to gross superstition and then to violent reaction. But our Articles contain no condemnation whatever of the pure doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass as expressed by one of the ablest Anglican opponents of Romanism, Archbishop Bramhall. 'We acknowledge an Eucharistical Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; a commemorative Sacrifice, or a memorial of the Sacrifice of the Cross; a representative Sacrifice, or a representation of the Passion of Christ before the eyes of His heavenly Father; an impetrative Sacrifice, or an impetration of the fruit and benefit of His Passion, by way of real prayer; and lastly, an applicative Sacrifice, or an application of His merits unto our souls. Let him that dare go one step further than we do, and say that it is a suppletory Sacrifice to supply the defects of the Sacrifice of the Cross. Or else let them hold their peace and speak no more against us in this point of Sacrifice for ever!'[2]

[1] Parker Society edit., p. 368.
[2] Bramhall, *Works*, Tome i. Discourse iii., A.D. 1674.

§ 3. *The Lord's Supper*[1] *in later Mediæval Times.*

The changes which came over the performance of Christian worship may be illustrated by the alterations which were effected in the cathedral churches of this country, alterations which were probably more radical in England than in any other country. We possess few architectural memorials of the Saxon period, but there is every reason to believe that the Saxon churches were small imitations of the Roman churches, sometimes different from the Roman churches in having a square east end instead of a semi-circular apse. By the sixteenth century a large English church bore only a remote resemblance to the churches of a thousand years before. There was still a great nave and a prominent altar, but their surroundings were new. About A.D. 780 the Roman Christians began to build churches with three apses and altars at the east end instead of one, an architectural improvement which was connected with a new form of worship.

In the seventh century there began in the West of Europe the custom of simplifying the Communion Service on all occasions when the full ancient ritual was difficult. This simplified service, which became known by the name of 'Low Mass,' was celebrated without a choir and without incense, and the priest who celebrated it was unaccompanied by a deacon and a sub-deacon, though he generally had some one to assist him at the altar. This new form of service soon became very popular in the West, but it has never been accepted by the Greek Church. Moreover, the brevity and simplicity of the service made it possible

[1] The phrase 'Lord's Supper' was a usual mediæval term for the Eucharist, and 'Lord's table' was a name for the altar. It cannot be discussed here whether in Scripture the 'Lord's Supper' means the Eucharist or the love-feast, or both combined.

for most priests to celebrate the Holy Eucharist very frequently and even every day, so that the larger churches became gradually provided with a great number of altars for such services. At York minster there were at least twenty-two altars, and there was nearly the same number at Salisbury. These altars were generally dedicated in commemoration of some saint independently of the saint after whom the church itself was named, and the largest churches were provided with a chapel and altar of especial beauty built eastward beyond the high altar in honour of the Blessed Virgin. One of the last and loveliest of these 'Lady' chapels is that which was built at Gloucester beyond the stern ancient apse, which a master architect of the fourteenth century had already covered with a lace of delicate stone-work, and illuminated with jewelled glass.

The structure of the Mass itself had not been altered since the period of S. Augustine, in spite of the fact that the High Mass at which the deacon and sub-deacon assisted the celebrant was performed with more sumptuous accessories, while the Low Mass was simpler than any Eucharist of the sixth century.

A series of preparatory prayers was provided for the celebrant, including the hymn, 'Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,' to be said while he put on his vestments, and Psalm xliii., to be said before approaching the altar.[1] The Our Father and the opening collect in our Communion Service are taken from this

[1] The chalice was frequently mixed immediately before the Mass. Where this practice prevails at the present day, it will probably be found best to follow the Dominican usage, *i.e.* for the celebrant to mix the chalice at the altar immediately after he has approached it, before he opens the book or says any prayer. We must strongly condemn the foolish custom, which is sometimes seen, of placing *water* in the chalice before the beginning of the service and *wine* at the Offertory—as though the water had flowed from our Lord's side before the blood.

preparatory section. The High Mass will now be described.

§ i (*a*). *The Opening Chants.*

The Psalm sung 'at the Introit,' or entrance of the celebrant, was now greatly reduced, being a single verse from the original Psalm. On the contrary, the *Kyrie eleison* was not only retained, but on many festivals was interspersed with Latin verses, the mixture of Greek and Latin producing a somewhat hybrid effect. This custom of interpolating the *Kyrie* has been revived in our present service, in which the *Kyrie* is interpolated with the Ten Commandments. Much of the Mass music was thus varied, and, as an example, we may note how the *Gloria in excelsis* was interpolated in commemoration of S. Mary. The last clause then ran thus :

> For Thou only art holy, *sanctifying Mary*; Thou only art the the Lord, *ruling Mary*; Thou only, *crowning Mary*, O Jesu Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

§ i (*b*). *The Collect.*

The Collect, which is really the first of the three collects of the Mass (the other two being the Secret Prayer and the Post-communion Prayer) followed the *Gloria in excelsis*. In England the collects were numerous, and the rules for their use were complicated. Occasionally as many as seven were said at one Mass in the place of the original first collect. The later mediæval collects are sometimes fine, but seldom equal the old Roman collects.

§ i (*c*). *The Lessons and accompanying Chants.*

The first of the three lessons at the Mass was kept in England on certain days in Lent and at the Ember seasons, also on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day.

At High Mass the celebrant ordinarily read the Epistle quietly at the altar, and retired to the carved stone *sedile* or seat on the south wall of the sanctuary while the sub-deacon read the Epistle aloud. Then the Gradual psalm or Grayl, originally sung before the Epistle, was sung at a pulpit (*i.e.* lectern), or in the gallery of the chancel screen. This was followed by the chanting of the Alleluia or, in penitential services, by the Tract or Tract Psalm, originally sung from a pulpit like the Gradual.

The Gospel was read by the deacon at a lectern on the north side of the chancel, lights and incense being carried before him.

In the meantime, while the Gradual was being sung, there took place a ceremony which probably arose from a blending of the Roman rite with the Gallican ritual of France, where the oblations used to be prepared before the Mass began.

The two boys who acted as candle-bearers and the 'clerk' (acolyte) went to the vestry, from which the clerk returned bearing the chalice and the paten with the oblation. These were enveloped in a silk veil, which was probably put over the clerk's shoulders like a shawl.

They proceeded to the south side of the sanctuary, and at Lincoln the celebrant then mixed the chalice of red wine and water before the Gospel began. The chalice was then placed behind the altar until the Offertory. The usual practice was to place it on the altar.[1]

§ i (*d*). *The Mass Creed, etc.*

The Nicene Creed or Mass Creed was sung on Sundays and festivals in England after the Gospel during the later Middle Ages. The dismissal of the catechumens

[1] The older custom of not mixing the chalice until the Offertory was certainly more appropriate, and was sometimes followed in England.

and the prayer connected with it, as described on p. 24, had long ago disappeared. In English parish churches the sermon seems to have generally followed the Creed or Offertory, contrary to the Roman use, in which it follows the Gospel.

§ ii. *The Offertory; The Preface, etc.*

The ancient Roman form of Offertory has long been discontinued at Rome, but it is beautifully preserved in the English Coronation Service. The sovereign offers bread and wine, and the Archbishop, having placed them upon the altar, offers them with the following *Secreta* or 'privy prayer': 'Bless, O Lord, we beseech Thee, these Thy gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use, that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of Thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, and fed unto everlasting life of soul and body: And that Thy servant Queen Victoria may be enabled to the discharge of her weighty office, whereunto of Thy great goodness Thou hast called and appointed her. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.' This follows the arrangement of the mediæval English Coronation Service, in which the Offertory prayers then used at other Masses were not inserted.

A writer of the eleventh century shows that the people had already ceased to offer bread and wine, because it was not necessary that there should be so much bread, as the people did not communicate.

The priest ordinarily offered the chalice and paten together, as is still done by the Dominicans. He meanwhile said two brief prayers, then censed 'the sacrifice' with the words 'Let my prayer, O Lord, be set forth in Thy sight as the incense.'[1] Then

[1] In the majority of English churches incense does not appear to have been offered at any later point in the service. The rite of using incense at the Offertory was copied by the Roman Church.

having washed his hands, he bent before the altar, saying:

In an humble spirit and a contrite heart let us be accepted, O Lord, of Thee; and let our sacrifice be so made in Thy sight this day that it may be received of Thee, and please Thee, O Lord God (*Song of the Three Children*, 16, 17).

Most of these Offertory prayers differed widely in the various English dioceses, and differed widely from those used at Rome. They do not belong to the original Roman service, and the process of their gradual insertion into the Mass was accompanied by the curtailment of the Offertory psalm chanted by the choir.

The oblations having been thus prepared, the priest turned to the people with the words:

Pray brethren and sisters for me: that my sacrifice, which is equally yours, may be accepted of our Lord God.

In the twelfth century the people still stood and prayed aloud while he said the *Secreta*, called in English the 'privy prayer.' They then knelt again until the Preface, and stood during the *Sanctus*. They also stood at the *Agnus*, a custom which might well be introduced again in order to relieve the strain caused by long kneeling. The 'Lift up your hearts,' the Preface, and the *Sanctus* are too familiar to need description.

§ iii. *The Canon of the Mass.*

The *Sanctus* having been sung, the priest began the long prayer of consecration, divided into many parts and diversified with many ceremonies. These prayers, from time immemorial, were read inaudibly by the priest, the silence being at this period broken by the ringing of a bell immediately before and after the consecration of the host, and again after the consecration of the chalice. This ringing of the bell is probably not of

Roman origin. It began about 1100, one of the earliest records of it being the fact that Matilda, Queen of England, gave bells for this purpose to the church of Notre Dame at Chartres. It is therefore older than the official declaration of the doctrine of Transubstantiation by the Church of Rome in 1215.

The spirit in which the Canon of the Mass was regarded in England may be best illustrated by quoting the *Rationale*, written soon after the separation of the Church of England from Rome, but while the Sarum rite was still employed:

'Then the priest begins to represent in this sacrifice of the Mass, the most painful and bloody sacrifice once offered for our salvation upon the cross, and prays the Father to accept these gifts prepared for the consecration; and inclining his body, makes a cross upon the altar, and kisses it, signifying thereby the humble inclining and obedience of Christ to the Father's will, to suffer His Passion upon the altar of His cross for our salvation.

'And then, following the example of Christ, the high Bishop, which, approaching the time of His Passion, gave Himself to prayer; and also according to the apostle's doctrine to Timothy, the minister gives himself to prayer . . . and after certain prayers and petitions made for the people, and also, that the oblation may be acceptable unto God, he proceeds with all reverence to the consecration.

'First, of the bread, taking it in his hands, and giving thanks, following the example of Christ; by virtue and power of whose words, the substance of bread is turned into the substance of the Body of Christ.

'And likewise the substance of wine into His precious Blood, which He lifteth up, both that the people with all reverence and honour may worship the same, and also to signify thereby, partly Christ's exaltation upon the cross . . . and partly signifying that triumphant advance-

ment and exaltation whereto God the Father, because of His Passion, has exalted Him above all creatures, bidding the people to have it in remembrance as oft as they shall do the same. After the which, the priest extends and stretches forth his arms in form of a cross[1] . . . and so proceeds to the second *memento*, in which he prays for them that be dead in the faith of Christ, and sleep in peace, that it might please God to grant them a place of refreshing, light and peace. Then he joins himself with the people, knocking himself upon his breast, thereby teaching them that he and they both be sinners, and have need of mercy and grace purchased by Christ's Passion, and desireth Almighty God to give them a society with the holy apostles and martyrs, not as an esteemer of their merits, but as a merciful granter of remission, and that by Christ by Whom He works and grants all these benefits;[2] wherefore all honour and glory is to be rendered to him by Christ, and with Christ, the Holy Ghost being knit in unity to them.

'And then expressing with a loud voice, how long this honour and glory is due to God, he saith, *per omnia saecula saeculorum*, i.e. perpetually; the Church answering *Amen*.

'The priest then, to the intent he may more worthily receive the blessed Body and Blood of Christ, both to the comfort and strength as well of him as of them that be present, saith the *Pater noster*.'

§ iv (*a*). *The Kiss of Peace and Breaking of Bread.*

The priest having finished the embolismos or prayer appended to the *Pater noster*, said, 'The peace of the

[1] This extending of the arms in the form of a cross is contrary to Roman usage. It was general in England, and continued at Paris until 1615. It survives among the Dominicans and at Milan, where it is apparently of remote antiquity.—Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambr.*, n. 47.

[2] Notice the attempted explanation of the dedication of the fruits of the earth, no longer understood at this period.

Lord be always with you.' The choir having responded, sang the *Agnus*.

It was in the time of Pope Sergius, A.D. 700, that the admirable custom of singing the *Agnus* had been introduced into the Mass. We cannot wonder that a welcome was given to such words: 'O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us . . . O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace.' This was intended to accompany the solemn 'fraction' or breaking of the bread immediately before the celebrant communicated. In England it was the custom to place a particle of the Sacrament in the chalice after the *Agnus*. This act was called the Commixtion. The present Roman practice is to do this immediately before the *Agnus*, but the English usage is nearer to the original Roman usage.

In the eighth century the celebrant gave the Kiss of peace when he said, 'The peace of the Lord be always with you,' and he communicated immediately after the Commixtion. But during the Middle Ages devotion prompted the insertion of a few prayers to be said by the priest before communicating. Considerable variation existed with regard to these prayers. The Roman differed from the Sarum, and the Sarum prayers were not identically the same as those employed in other English diocesan uses. The Sarum prayers which come after the *Agnus* are as follows:

> May this sacred commingling of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ become to me and to all who receive it health of mind and body and a saving preparation towards the attainment of everlasting life.

This prayer plainly dates from a time when the laity still received the chalice, and it was retained in England when the chalice was withdrawn from them. In 1549 Archbishop Cranmer, in replying to the Devonshire rebels, correctly argued that this prayer,

like the still more definite prayer in the Canon of the Mass, implied that the people should communicate with the priest. The priest next prayed:

> O Lord, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God, grant me so worthily to take the sacred Body and Blood of Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, that through this I may deserve to receive remission of all my sins and be filled with Thy Holy Spirit, and have Thy peace. For Thou art God, and there is none other beside Thee, Whose glorious kingdom abideth for ever and ever. Amen.

The celebrant then kissed the corporal and chalice and then kissed the deacon, or gave him to kiss the carved or embossed picture called the *pax* or *pax-brede* (*i.e.* pax-board). Such was the late mediæval manner of giving the *Kiss of peace*. The pax was carried round to different members of the congregation in order of precedence. It was constantly used in England in the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1548, the second year of King Edward VI., it was directed in the deanery of Doncaster that the clerk should take the pax, and standing with it outside the door in the rood screen say boldly to the people: 'This is a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and men's conscience. Christ alone is the peace-maker, which straitly commands peace between brother and brother.' It is difficult to see how such a custom, as thus practised in the early days of the Reformation, could be abused. But there were sometimes unseemly quarrels about precedence in kissing the pax. Chaucer's Parson speaks of the proud man who liked to 'kisse the paxe, or be encenced before his neighbour'; and in 1496 a woman was presented before the Archdeacon of Middlesex for throwing the pax on the church floor because another woman was allowed to kiss it first.

§ iv (*b*). *The Communion.*

After the Kiss of peace the priest recited three prayers of great beauty, communicated himself, and

gave thanks. All these prayers were unknown in the older Roman Mass.

After the Communion the service soon ended. The people very rarely communicated at High Mass, and the psalm and antiphon which had been chanted during their communion were now reduced to an antiphon. The deacon then folded up the fine linen cloth or corporal (then known as the corporas cloth[1]). The sub-deacon rinsed the chalice, while the priest held it, with wine and water. The priest rinsed his fingers with this wine and water, and drank the contents of the chalice. He then again rinsed his fingers with wine or water, and drank the contents. Then he washed his hands at the *sacrarium* in the south wall of the sanctuary. During these ablutions, or rinsings, as they were formerly called, the people knelt.

§ iv (*c*). *The Thanksgiving.*

The celebrant, having returned to the altar, invited the people to join in the last collect, known as the *Post-communion*, and the people rose to pray. They were then dismissed with the words *Ite, missa est.* The mediæval English Mass Books contain no final blessing, and it has been commonly supposed that none was given. But the *Rationale* and other documents show us that a 'benediction in the name of the whole Trinity' was sometimes given, and that the Reformers only continued a mediæval usage in placing a benediction at the end of the Eucharist. The *Mirroure of our Lady* says, 'Every priest may bless the people in the

[1] In some English churches it is now the custom to provide (i) a corporal, (ii) the stiffened corporal known as the pall, (iii) a fair linen cloth to be used after the Communion. This is a mistake. The fair linen cloth was in the seventeenth century correctly called the 'corporas cloth,' and nothing is needed except the *two* corporas cloths. In some mediæval English churches only *one* was used, and this practice is not yet extinct.

end of his Mass, if there be no bishop present that will bless.' This proves that the English custom of the fifteenth century was the same as the printed rule of the present Prayer Book.

§ 4. *Popular Mass Books.*

The immense price of large books, whether written or printed, made it impossible that many of the laity should be provided with complete Mass Books. Nevertheless a series of prayers especially intended for worshippers at the Eucharist was provided in the *Lay Folk's Mass Book.* The original seems to have been composed in French by an Anglo-Norman of the twelfth century. The existing English translations are of different dates, and illustrate in a significant manner the difference between the more archaic form of Yorkshire English and the later Yorkshire and Midland English. The reader is bidden to say the *Pater noster* when nothing else is provided. There is a good paraphrase of the Creed, accurate enough except that 'the communion of saints' is misinterpreted as the 'housel' or Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood. Some of the prayers, in spite of the roughness of their metre, are of the greatest beauty, and are here transcribed in a slightly modernised form.

At the Offertory:

> Jesu, that wast in Bethlem bore,
> Three kings once kneeled Thee before,
> And offered gold, myrrh, and incense;
> Thou disdained not their presents,
> But didst guide them all the three
> Home again to their countree.
> So our offerings that we offer,
> And our prayers that we proffer,
> Take them, Lord, unto Thy praise,
> And be our help through all our days.

Equally beautiful is the prayer to be said at the *Sanctus*:

In world of worlds without ending
Thanked be Thou, Jesu my King:
All my heart I give to Thee
For meet it is that so it be.
With all my will I worship Thee
And give Thee thanks most heartily.
Jesu, blessed mayest Thou be
For all the good Thou givest me.
Sweet Jesu, grant me this,
That I may come into Thy bliss,
There with angels for to sing
This sweet song of Thy praising,
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,
Jesu, grant that it be thus.

As the time of the consecration approaches and the 'little bell' is rung to give warning before the priest says 'This is My Body,' the worshipper is exhorted to pray in his 'best manner' and 'without dread,' kneeling and holding up both his hands in the ancient attitude of supplication. He is to behold the elevation and not cover his eyes in the fashion which modern reverence has dictated. He should pray in his own words, but if he cannot find words of his own then he may say:

Loved be Thou, King,
And blessed be Thou, King,
For all Thy gifts good
That for me spilt Thy blood
And died upon the rood.
Thou give me grace to sing
The song of Thy loving.

When we compare the prayers contained in the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* and other old books with some modern devotions, we are reminded of the difference between an English primrose and the creations of a merchant of artificial flowers.

CHAPTER III

CHANGES UNDER HENRY VIII

My lord of Canterbury,
I have a suit, which you must not deny me.
SHAKESPEARE, *King Henry VIII.*

§ 1. *Service Books at the Eve of the Reformation.*

THE account given in the preceding chapter is enough to suggest that some reform in the manner of celebrating the Eucharist was desirable. Other chapters will show that a reformation was equally needed in the case of other services of the Church. It is also important to remember that even in matters where there was no moral necessity for a change, practical convenience demanded it. The ritual of different dioceses varied considerably. The 'uses' of Sarum, York, Hereford and Bangor diverged from one another in many details, and a similar though less important divergence was to be found elsewhere. A priest who knew the ceremonial of High Mass at Exeter would have been puzzled at Lincoln, and a monk of Westminster would not have felt at home in the midst of the rites of some of the great Yorkshire abbeys. Moreover, the number of books through which the different services of the Church were distributed made it almost impossible for the laity to possess any adequate knowledge of these services in their entirety.

The result of this is plainly shown among Roman Catholics at the present day. The laity use pious manuals suited to their degree of intellectual capacity. The more highly educated possess a fair knowledge of the Mass and of Vespers, but have hardly any acquaintance with the history and meaning of the other liturgical services. The solid devotions of ancient days are neglected, particularly in Italy and Spain, in favour of devotions which are vulgar in language and superstitious in tendency.

The more important Service Books used in England immediately before the Reformation were as follows:—

1. The *Missale* or Mass Book, containing all that was necessary for the Mass for every day throughout the year. It was an expansion of the ancient *Sacramentarium* (which contained the prayers relating to the Sacraments, including the fixed parts of the Mass with the collects and other parts chanted by the celebrant). In earlier times the Office of Holy Communion was usually contained in four volumes, viz. the Sacramentarium, the Lectionarius, the Evangelistarium, and the Antiphonale. When the last three books were incorporated in the Missale they were still printed separately for the convenience of the assistants of the celebrant.

The *Lectionarius* included lections read at Mass, but not the Gospels. Sometimes it included the Epistles, sometimes only those lections which are neither from the Gospels nor from the Epistles.

The *Evangelistarium* contained the portions of Scripture appointed to be read from the Gospels. The book was often sumptuously adorned, and placed upon the altar as one of its choicest ornaments.

The *Antiphonale*, *Antiphonarium*, or Antiphoner[1]

[1] This must be distinguished from the Antiphoner which contained the music for Vespers, Mattins and the other daily services, and was the ordinary Antiphoner of late mediæval book catalogues.

used at Mass was in later times called the *Graduale*, *Gradale*, or Grayl, and the name Gradale is as old as the ninth century. The Graduale contained the Scriptural portion of the choral part of the Mass, viz. the Introit and Psalm, the Gradual, Offertory and Communion. It hardly altered at all in contents from the time of S. Augustine to the Reformation. It was divided into four parts: (*a*) *Temporale*, for the seasons from Advent to the Sundays after Trinity; (*b*) *Sanctorale*, for the holy days from S. Andrew's Day onwards, excluding the saints' days of Christmastide; (*c*) *Commune Sanctorum*, for saints' days which had no 'proper' service, but were beholden to some common form; (*d*) Music for the Ordinary of the Mass, *i.e.* the series of fixed forms in which are set the Canon and the variable parts of the Mass.

After the *Graduale* we must mention the *Troparium* or Troper. Modern tropes are to be found in the insertion of the Ten Commandments, etc., in the midst of the petitions 'Lord, have mercy upon us' in our Communion Service. A trope is an insertion or 'farsing,' such as was put into the Introit, Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus. Tropes were ordinarily non-Scriptural additions to the Antiphoner, and like so many other unprimitive elaborations of divine worship, they developed mostly in the extreme West of Europe. Some of those in the Winchester Troper contain Greek words. By the thirteenth century tropes mostly disappeared from use, and the remainder was incorporated in the *Graduale*. Finally the title of Troper was transferred to a collection of Sequences, which were originally *prose* words set to the prolonged notes of the Alleluia before the Gospel. Metrical hymns were added to the collection and are still known as *Proses*.

2. The *Processionale* or Processional. This contained the hymns, litanies, and all parts of the service which pertained to the processions, whether within

the church or outside it. At the beginning was the Office for the blessing of the holy water used in the procession. At an earlier date the Processional was included in the Gradual.

3. The *Manuale* corresponded with the book called on the Continent *Rituale*. It included the occasional Offices which can be performed by a priest, such as the services for Baptism, Matrimony, Churching of Women, Visitation of the Sick, Extreme Unction, and Burial of the Dead.

4. The *Pontificale* or Pontifical. This contained those sacraments and rites which can only be performed by a bishop, viz. Confirmation, Ordination, the Consecration of a Church, etc.

5. The *Hymnarium* or Hymnal. This contained the Latin hymns with the musical notation. Many of these were of great beauty, and are familiar to us in English translations. They were printed in the order of the days in which they occurred in the daily 'divine service.'

6. The *Portiforium*, Portors, or Portuis corresponds with the Breviarium. It contained the 'divine service' or 'office' strictly so called, viz. the eight daily services or 'offices' which were intended to secure the recitation of the Psalter by the clergy every week, and the reading of the greater part of the Bible every year. The history of these services is given in the chapter on 'Morning and Evening Prayer.'

The *Legenda* contained the lections appointed to be read at Mattins, the most important service of the daily offices.

The *Psalterium* or Psalter at this period contained the Psalms, divided into portions for the daily divine service, the Litany, and the Office of the Dead. With the Legenda and Antiphoner it would make up the entire Portiforium.

In connection with the *Portiforium* must be men-

tioned the popular Prayer Book known as the *Primarium* or Primer. It is of especial interest as illustrating the manner in which our forefathers were gradually prepared for a return to the primitive practice of using their mother tongue in divine worship.

The Primer may be described as a layman's companion to the Breviary Offices. The Primers used in England were sometimes in Latin and sometimes in English. They contained those liturgical accretions to 'divine service' which were devised in and after the ninth century, and became interwoven with the authorised daily (or Lenten) services. By the fourteenth century these additions were regarded as obligatory on the clergy. They consisted of:—(i) special psalms—the fifteen Gradual[1] psalms, cxx to cxxxiv; the seven Penitential psalms, vi, xxxii, xxxviii, li, cii, cxxx, cxliii; and the Commendations,[2] *i.e.* Psalms cxix and cxxxix, with a few prayers: (ii) Offices of the Dead, of the Blessed Virgin, etc., framed on the model of the Divine Office: (iii) the Litany.

The invention of printing made it easy to lengthen the Primer, and at the close of the fifteenth and in the first part of the sixteenth century we find a number of pious prayers added to these devotions.

It is easy to see why these devotions were taken as the basis of the Primer. Many of the laity attended the Offices of the Church, and the women even recited alternately in Church the Office of our Lady in a low voice. The Divine Office of the Breviary was much too long and intricate to be mastered by busy laymen. But the accretions of the Divine Office were simple. They were, with the exception of the Office of the Blessed Virgin, invariable. Even this Office was not

[1] These fifteen psalms, called also the Psalms of Degrees, were so named because they were supposed to have been sung on the fifteen steps (*gradus*) of the Temple.

[2] So called because they commended Christian souls to God.

very complicated. It was therefore natural that in the fourteenth century the laity should begin to use a book which enabled them to follow part of the common prayers recited in church, and which was also adapted to their daily habits. There are abundant proofs of the popularity of the Primer, chief among which we may observe the survival of the word 'Primer' in English, and the survival of the word *Dirge*, which means the Mattins and Lauds in the Office for the Dead. The latter is simply *Dirige*, the first word of the Anthem of the first psalm (v) of the Office—*Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam.* Vespers for the dead were formerly called *Placebo*, the first word of the Anthem of the first psalm (cxvi) of Vespers—*Placebo Domino in regione vivorum.*[1] In Elizabeth's Primer of 1559 both Mattins and Vespers of the dead are included under the one name of Dirige.

The following table shows the full contents of a Primer about A.D. 1400:—

1. Mattins and the Hours of our Lady.
2. Evensong and Compline of our Lady.
3. The Penitential Psalms.
4. The Psalms of Degrees.
5. The Litany.
6. The Placebo.
7. The Dirge.
8. The Psalms of Commendation.
9. The Pater Noster.
10. The Ave Maria.
11. The Creed.
12. The Ten Commandments.
13. The Seven Deadly Sins.

To illustrate the nature of the services contained in

[1] *The Prymer* or *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, edited by Henry Littlehales, *Early English Text Society*, 1895-1897.

the Primer it will be sufficient to give an outline of Mattins of our Lady.

Lord, open thou my lips.
And my mouth, etc.
O God, make speed to help me.
O Lord, make haste to succour me.
Glory be to the Father, etc.
As it was, etc. Amen. Alleluia.

The Invitatory. Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee.

The *Venite*, with the Invitatory interwoven.

The Hymn *Quem terra* (*Ancient and Modern*, 449).

The three Psalms, viz. viii, xix, xxiv.

Anthem. Blessed be thou among women, etc.

Our Father.

Hail Mary, followed by versicle and responses.

The three Lessons (very short), each followed by versicles and responses.

The *Te Deum*, followed by versicle and response.

An unreformed Sarum Primer was printed in 1532 in Paris, when the Church of England had already affirmed the supremacy of Henry VIII.

§ 2. *Results of the Breach with Rome.*

Henry's divorce of Catherine, his deceased brother's wife, was the occasion, but not the cause, of the English Reformation. A long train of events had made a breach with Rome almost inevitable, and inasmuch as Pope Alexander VI. had allowed the French king Louis XII. to divorce his wife in the same fashion as Henry, it is reasonable to think that political motives weighed most strongly with Pope Clement VII. when he refused to allow Henry to repudiate his wife. Wolsey had endeavoured to set aside the marriage by invoking the Pope, but the Pope was forced to refuse Henry his heart's desire. The king was not so blinded by his

unholy passion as to lose his diplomatic instincts. He saw that he could get his own way if he could have Parliament on his side, and he wished to secure the acquiescence of the clergy in his intended Parliamentary legislation. Therefore in 1531 he induced the English clergy to declare that he was, 'so far as the law of Christ will allow, supreme head of the English Church and Clergy.' The formula was elastic enough, and did not necessarily imply a denial of some real supremacy of the Pope.

By the beginning of 1534 the breach with Rome was nearly complete. Thomas Cranmer, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, had urged with great acuteness that the Pope had originally acted beyond his powers in granting Henry a dispensation to marry Catherine, and in 1533 declared the marriage to be spiritually null and void. The Pope retaliated by declaring Henry's new marriage to be null and void, and both the Convocations of York and Canterbury then threw off the jurisdiction of the Pope by asserting that 'the bishop of Rome hath not by Scripture any greater authority in England than any other foreign bishop.' The words are carefully chosen, and they contain within themselves the whole principle of English protest against Rome. They do not deny that the Pope has a primacy of honour among Christian bishops acquired by the consent of the Church; nor has the Church of England ever denied this primacy. They simply declare that no primacy was granted by Christ to S. Peter, and his supposed successors in the see of Rome, sufficient to make the Pope the necessary centre of truth and government in the Church. After such a declaration two courses were open to the Church of England: either to adopt the Protestant principle by attempting entirely to reconstitute the Church by a new appeal to Scripture, or to return to a purer Catholicism by simply rejecting any doctrine which

could not claim the continuous assent of the Church both in East and West. The English Church chose the latter method. The process of reform was necessarily slow, but the formularies of this reign made a real advance in the right direction.

During the remainder of Henry's reign nothing was introduced into public worship which savoured of any dislike of the practice of the whole Catholic Church, and there was a general retention of rites and practices which were exclusively Western and mediæval. But there are important facts which illustrate the moving current of theology.

1. In 1542 it was directed that the Breviary of Sarum should be followed throughout the whole province of Canterbury. In 1543 Convocation entrusted to the Bishops of Sarum (Shaxton) and Ely (Goodrich) the work of examining and reforming 'all mass-books, antiphoners, portuises in the Church of England.' If they had been able to complete their labours at this time it is certain that we should have had a carefully reformed edition of the Sarum books. A slightly reformed edition of the Sarum Portiforium appeared as early as 1541. It omits the title of Pope and some doubtful legends.

The Primer was also in process of reform. The first reformed English Primer was printed by John Byddell, probably in 1534. In 1535 Byddell printed another for William Marshall. This Primer is considerably simplified, and contains a Litany which is partly based on a Litany written or edited by Luther. The accustomed requests to the saints for their prayers are retained, but with a strong warning against the popular abuse of such a practice. This may be compared with the vigorous protest uttered by Sir Thomas More, a staunch supporter of papal supremacy, against the custom of invoking special saints for special needs. In 1539 John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, published

another reformed Primer in English and Latin 'at commaundement of Lorde Thomas Crumwell.' It is somewhat more conservative than that of Marshall. Both were superseded by *King Henry's Primer*,[1] published in 1545. This contains, nearly in its present form, the English Litany which had been published in 1544. Various godly prayers and the Psalms of the Passion were added to the Offices, Ave, Creed, and Ten Commandments.

2. Four important doctrinal formularies appeared between 1536 and 1543. In 1536 Convocation drew up *Ten Articles* for the purpose of 'stablishing Christian quietness.' They are written from an intelligent Catholic standing-point. The authority of the first four General Councils 'and all other sith that time in any point consonant to the same' is asserted. Papal pardons to deliver souls from purgatory are repudiated. We may ask saints to pray for us, but 'without any vain superstition, as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another.' It is interesting to notice that although the Body and Blood of Christ are said to be really present 'under the form and figure of bread and wine,' the word *transubstantiation* is omitted.

In 1537 these Articles were embodied by the bishops in a book entitled *The Institution* [*i.e.* Instruction] *of a Christian Man*, but more commonly known as *The Bishops' Book*. It contains an excellent explanation of the Apostles' Creed and the Seven Sacraments, the Our Father and the Hail Mary, and two articles on Justification and Purgatory. It should be noticed that this book (*a*) distinctly asserts the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, but does not employ the word *transubstantiation*; (*b*) repudiates a

[1] The first book printed in Welsh was the Prymer, by Sir John Price of Brecon, which appeared in 1546.

materialistic view of purgatory, simply insisting on the duty of prayer for the souls departed; (*c*) speaks very temperately of the bishop and the Church of Rome, while denying that they possess a primacy which permits Rome to lord over other Churches; (*d*) asserts that it is right to ask the saints 'to be intercessors with us and for us,' but repudiates 'invocation,' which is interpreted as beseeching the saints to bestow gifts and graces upon us as though they possessed divine power.[1]

At the present day the phrase 'invocation of saints' includes both requests to the saints for their prayers and addresses to the saints similar in wording to the adoration which we render to God. *The Institution of a Christian Man* uses it in the latter sense only and condemns it in that sense only. This use agrees with the true meaning of the Latin *invocare*, which means to ask the help of a god. As late as 1624 Archbishop Ussher, in his *Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge*, distinguishes 'Popish invocation' from 'compellation.' The former consists of 'absolute prayers to the saints,' the latter of 'wishes only or requests of the same nature with those which are in this kind usually made unto the living.'[2]

A revised edition of *The Bishops' Book* appeared in 1543 with the full sanction of the King and Convocation. The new edition bears the title of *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. It was commonly called *The King's Book*, but it must be remembered that it had the full sanction of the Church.

[1] *Formularies of Faith* (Oxford, 1825), p. 141. The *Hail Mary* is treated neither as a request nor as an invocation. This is easily explained when we remember that the old English form was, *Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women; and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.* It did not usually contain any petition to 'pray for us,' but such petitions were sometimes added in private practice.

[2] Cambridge edition, 1835, pp. 384, 389.

It is in some respects an improvement upon its predecessor, and in some respects more mediæval. It condemns the use of the word purgatory while highly commending prayer for the departed. The Article on the Sacrament of the Altar is much longer than that in *The Institution*, and definitely implies the truth of the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the sufficiency of communion in one kind. It denies that the unity of the Church is preserved by the Pope's authority, and shows no desire to separate from the Churches which still acknowledge his supremacy, declaring that the Churches of England, Spain, and Italy are 'one Church in God.' The great merits of many of the contents of the book may well cause us to regret that it was not again revised. It would then have supplied a permanent and admirable method of instruction for the English laity.[1]

About the same time (1543) was finished the short and pious *Rationale of Rites and Ceremonies*, quoted above in the account of the Canon of the Mass. It seems to have been neglected, probably because *The King's Book* was considered to contain sufficient instruction.

3. The history of the English Bible during this period illustrates the coming struggle between a Catholic and a Protestant Reformation. Modern writers have often been ready to assume that the Bible in English was a 'sealed' book before the Reformation. Yet it is certain that there existed not only translations of portions of the Bible and more than one translation of the Psalms, but also a translation of the whole Bible or nearly the whole. This is partly proved by a statement in the *Mirroure of our Lady*,

[1] The Thirteen Articles of 1538 are interesting as a link between the present English Articles and the Lutheran Augsburg Confession. But they were not recognised either by the Church or by the State, and in 1539 Henry in the Statute of Six Articles enforced the very doctrines and practices which the Lutherans attacked as abuses.

written about 1450 and printed about 1530. The writer says, 'Of psalms I have drawn [*i.e.* translated] but few, for ye may have them of Richard Hampoule's drawinge, and out of Englysshe bibles if ye have lysence thereto.' The difficulty is to determine the exact relation of Wyclif's work to these orthodox Bibles of the fifteenth century, and to that English Bible which Cranmer, when making preparations for the Great Bible, divided into nine or ten parts, to send to learned bishops of Catholic opinions to revise. On the whole, it seems probable that the translation to which Wyclif (1380) contributed most of the New Testament was generally regarded as Catholic, in spite of the fact that Archbishop Arundel in 1412 denounced it. Unless the so-called Wyclifite version was accepted by Catholics, it is difficult to see why Bishop Pecock, an opponent of the Wyclifites, should have quoted it, or why some of the existing manuscripts are carefully marked to show the portions read in Catholic worship. It is even quite possible that at High Mass in some places the Epistle and Gospel were read in English from this very version. We must remember that in England Wyclif's theological opinions almost died with him, and that Hereford, who translated the Old Testament, and Purvey, who seems to have revised it, both ended their days in the full favour of the Church. It is possible that their names may have acted as a certificate for the Wyclifite version, and that Wyclif's own part of the work did not differ materially from translations which Sir Thomas More describes as 'already well done of old before Wyclif's days.'

The first translation of the Scriptures which appeared in the time of Henry VIII. is distinctly Protestant. It is a translation of the New Testament made by William Tyndale, who went to Cöln in 1525, was betrayed, and then fled to Worms with the printed sheets of his book. In 1526 it was being circulated in England. It is

marked by some doctrinal bias, chiefly Lutheran. Instead of the words elders or presbyters, church, grace, charity, Tyndale wrote seniors, congregation, favour, love. The notes are of a somewhat partisan character. Tyndale published a translation of the Pentateuch in 1531, and was strangled and burnt near Brussels in 1536.

In 1534, in order to secure a more orthodox version than that of Tyndale, Convocation petitioned Henry for an authorised version. Both the conservative and the progressive parties were united in the good work, Bishop Gardiner, the leading prelate of mediæval sympathies, undertaking the Gospels of S. Luke and S. John. Stokesley, Bishop of London, was the only prelate who refused to do his share. The work was rashly repressed by Cromwell's injunction to have the Bible in Latin and English in every parish church.

The version employed for this purpose was that of Miles Coverdale, printed at Zürich in 1535. The author probably knew little Hebrew, but used the 'Douche [*i.e.* German] and Latyn.' The work is inferior, and yet the author possessed literary dexterity and a true ear for rhythm.

The next Bible is that of 1537, named after Thomas Matthew. This is probably a pseudonym for John Rogers, who was a friend of Tyndale and continued the work of that intrepid scholar. The book is to a great extent made up of the work of Tyndale and Coverdale. It was presented to Cranmer, who cannot have properly examined it, for he seems to have mistaken it for a new version. He expressed himself delighted with it, and got the royal licence for it. Matthew's Bible is the first royally-authorised English version. It is even more Lutheran than the work of Tyndale, and yet had the licence of a king who detested Luther and all his works.

A hasty and pirated version of Matthew's Bible appeared under the name of Taverner in 1539.

The next Bible is the Great Bible, otherwise called Cranmer's, because Cranmer wrote the preface to the second edition. The Psalter in our Prayer Book is from Cranmer's Bible. It had Henry's authorisation, the bishops having assured him that it contained no heresies. It was made by Coverdale on the basis of Matthew's Bible, with the help of Münster in the Old Testament and Erasmus in the New Testament, and omitted Matthew's offensive notes. It was first printed at Paris with the licence of Francis I. On December 17, 1538, the Inquisition intervened and the sheets were seized. They were partly saved by a haberdasher, and the plant was removed to England, where the whole Bible appeared in April 1539. Hans Holbein had been employed to design the title-page, which is one of the most celebrated ever printed. On it is seen King Henry VIII., and above the royal debauchee appears the form of the Almighty, from Whose mouth issue the words, 'I have found me a man after My heart, who shall fulfil all My will.'[1]

Note on later Primers.—In the reign of Edward VI. Henry's Primer was republished in 1547, and again in 1549, when it appeared with the Litany as amended for the Book of Common Prayer, and contained no direct appeals to the saints. It still retained the old English form of the 'Hail Mary.' It was reprinted without the 'Hail Mary' in 1551 and 1552, and again in 1559, at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. Various editions of the Sarum Primer appeared under Mary. Another series of books for private prayer was printed from 1553 onwards. It is important to notice that the Primer of 1559, like the older Primers, contains direct prayers for the dead, and that this practice was not then considered to be inconsistent with the formularies of the reformed Church of England.

[1] The 1543 Convocation ordered that every Sunday and holy day the curate of every parish church, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should read to the people a chapter of the New Testament in English, and when the New Testament was read over, begin the Old. A new translation was proposed under Queen Mary. For the subsequent English versions see p. 130.

CHAPTER IV

REFORMATION AND DEFORMATION

My business is not to remake myself,
But make the absolute best of what God made.
BROWNING, *Bishop Blougram's Apology.*

§ 1. *Public Worship in English.*

HENRY VIII. died January 28, 1547, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI. Henry had appointed a carefully balanced Council of Regency; but his will fell into the keeping of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; and Gardiner, the leader of the conservatives, was declared to have been excluded from the Council. Then the Council was reconstituted, and Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, another conservative, was purposely ousted. Hertford raised himself to the dukedom of Somerset, he surrounded himself with newly-made peers, and by means of a new patent of Protectorate, drawn out in the boy-king's name, he made himself supreme. He had now tricked the conservatives out of power. He had first used Henry's will in order to form the Council, then set it aside in order to remodel the Council. Finally, he used the name of Edward to raise himself above the Council. His only hope of gaining adherents was to crush the conservative party by encouraging the spread of Protestantism. Therefore at the very moment when Protestantism on the Continent was on the verge of ruin Somerset was

obliged to come forward as its patron. His own religion was Calvinism tempered with Erastianism and inspired by the love of Mammon. He would have destroyed Westminster Abbey itself if he had not been bought off by a bribe of twenty manors. Cranmer was far too weak to resist. A prelate who, when himself secretly married, had beggared clergymen for marrying, and had openly perjured himself by taking an oath of allegiance to the Pope which he never intended to keep, was not made of stuff capable of resisting the Protector. When Somerset fell in 1549 Cranmer basely aided the intrigue which brought him to the scaffold, and was left to be the tool of Northumberland as he had been the tool of Henry VIII. and Somerset.

Convocation and Parliament met in November. The Lower House of Convocation presented a petition to the archbishop that the works of the bishops who had been examining and reforming the divine service might be produced, and on December 2 the whole session approved the proposition 'of taking the Lord's Body in both kinds.' Parliament approved the administration of the Sacrament in both kinds, and an Act was passed to condemn those who blasphemed it, allowing such persons to do so with impunity until May 1, 1548. It is important to notice that Somerset was willing that blasphemy should be allowed to run its course during that period.

Early in 1548 a Commission of certain bishops and divines associated with Cranmer held deliberations on the liturgy. The first publication of this Commission was *The Order of the Communion*. It was not a full Communion Office, but inserted into the Latin Mass a form for communicating the people in English. It restored the chalice to the laity, and was intended to make the communion of the people an integral part of the Mass as it had been in earlier times. It is based upon one

of the best of the books which had been published on the Continent in favour of a wise and moderate reformation. This is the book called *A Simple Decision concerning the Reformation of the Churches of the Electorate of Cöln*, published in German in 1543. It was drawn up by Bucer, Melanchthon, and Sarcerius at the request of Hermann, Prince Archbishop of Cöln (died 1552). This again was based upon the form of worship used by the Lutherans in Brandenburg and Nürnberg and the form used in Cassel. A translation of it appeared in England, October 30, 1547, under the title, *A Simple and Religious Consultation*[1] *of us, Herman by the grace of God archbishop of Cologne*, etc. The book protests against some popular mediæval superstitions, but was disliked by Luther, because it does not openly condemn Swiss Protestant doctrines about the Eucharist.

The new English 'Order' was published March 8, 1548, and was appointed to come into use on Easter Day, April 1. It was distinctly ordered that there was to be no varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass. The next Sunday or holy day, or at least one day before the Communion, the priest was to read an address, which is mainly that which stands in our Prayer Book, as the first notice of Communion. After the direction about the use of private absolution which still remains, it contained a sensible caution to the effect that those who were satisfied with a general[2] confession should not be offended with those who use 'the auricular and secret confession to the priest,' and *vice versa*.

At the Mass the priest was bidden to consecrate enough of 'the Sacrament of the Body' for the people,

[1] The Latin names were *Judicium* or *Deliberatio*.

[2] This is no vague confession of sinfulness to God, but is explained as a general confession to the Church after a humble confession of 'sins and unkindness' to God in private.

and to consecrate 'the biggest chalice,' and after one draught to leave the rest upon the altar covered, and exhort the people in words nearly the same as those of the present *Exhortation at the time of the celebration of the Communion.* This exhortation, though derived from that of Hermann, has been traced to Wolfgang Volprecht, prior of the Augustinian canons at Wittenberg, who became Protestants.

After a brief warning, 'If any man here be an open blasphemer,' etc. (a clause now in the *Exhortation, giving warning of the Communion*), the priest paused a while to see if any withdrew themselves. The service then continued:—'You that do truly and earnestly repent you,' etc. The general confession, absolution, and comfortable words followed almost exactly in their present form, then the prayer beginning 'We do not presume.' The administration took place with these words, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life'—'The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life.' The conclusion of the Communion is not clearly expressed. The priest is told to let the people depart with the blessing, 'The peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord.' But it seems plain that this was a dismissal from the altar and not from the church, since the Post-communion Collect had to follow.

The concluding rubrics expressly state that the bread is to be the same 'as heretofore hath been accustomed,' *i.e.* unleavened wafer-bread, also that in each part of the said consecrated breads is received the whole Body of Christ. The only direction which by any ingenuity could be interpreted as impugning the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament is that which orders that if the priest has to consecrate the chalice

a second or a third time, it is to be done *without any levation or lifting up.* This interpretation would be contrary to the whole spirit of the service.

In the meantime a Protestant crusade was being carried on in literature which had the sanction of the Council. The new Order of Communion was followed by *The Psalter or Booke of the Psalms, whereunto is added the Litany and certayne other devout prayers set forth with the King's most gracious lycence of July* 1548. It is strongly anti-sacramental in tone, and exhorts people to receive the Sacrament 'as a memorial of His death, and not to eat it thinking or believing Him to be there really.' Among the books which were intended to prepare the way for further changes was a scurrilous attack on the Mass and the priesthood, published in 1547 by William Turner, Somerset's chaplain; also a tract of 1548 containing a letter of John Calvin against being a partaker 'of the masse of the papysts,' and a book written by Hurleston soon after the appearance of the Order of the Communion, and called *Newes from Rome concerning the blasphemous sacrifice of the papisticall Masse.*

The Commission continued their deliberations at Chertsey and Windsor, undertaking the arduous task of revising the Latin services and preparing from them and other sources a Book of Common Prayer and of the Administration of the Sacraments. Their labours were finished by Christmas 1548, and in January 1549 Parliament passed the first English Act of Uniformity. The statute provided that from and after Whitsunday (June 9) no other form was to be used than that contained in the new book. A fresh chapter was thus opened in the history of the English Church.[1]

The objects of the compilers are stated in the

[1] The first service sung in English, except the Litany, was probably Compline, which was sung in English in the King's chapel as early as April 11, 1547. Mass was sometimes sung in English in 1548.

'Preface,' based upon the preface to the Reformed Roman Breviary of Cardinal Quiñones. They are that the whole realm should have only one 'use'; that the rubrical directions 'called the Pie' should be simplified; that the Psalms should be repeated in their order, instead of a few being 'daily said, and the rest omitted'; that the Lessons should include 'the whole Bible, or the greatest part thereof' in a continuous course; that the reading of the Scriptures should not be interrupted by 'Anthems, Responds, and Invitatories'; that nothing should be read but 'the very pure Word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is evidently grounded upon the same'; and that the services should be in the English tongue. It is evident throughout the book that it was intended to be more simple, more intelligible, and more congregational than the Latin services had been for many centuries, and that the test of Scripture and the practice of the first six hundred years of Christianity should be more carefully considered. These intentions were excellent, and the outcome is sound and great, Catholic in its teaching and perfect in its language. But simplicity was attained at the sacrifice of much that was scriptural, and the rubrical directions were so inadequate that the services could not be properly performed without some knowledge of the ancient ceremonial.

The eight, or as sometimes reckoned seven, *Daily Services* of the Breviary were replaced by a new form of Mattins and Evensong. The services of terce, sext, and nones were omitted, and Mattins were constructed from the services of mattins, lauds, and prime on the model of the German mattins used in Schleswig-Holstein. Evensong was constructed from the ancient evensong and compline after the same German model. Both these services began with the Lord's Prayer and ended with the third Collect. The *Litany* was that drawn up by Cranmer in 1544 and ordered to

be used by Henry VIII., with the exception of the requests to the saints for their prayers, which were now omitted. This Litany is of mixed Sarum and German origin. The *Baptismal Office* was partly based upon the Sarum Offices, but is mainly derived from the Consultation and early Lutheran books. It still retained the primitive anointing of the candidate and the threefold immersion. The Order of *Confirmation* followed that in the Sarum Pontifical, but omitted the primitive chrism (anointing with oil). The Order of the *Visitation of the Sick* included the apostolic practice of anointing with oil, popularly known as Extreme Unction. The *Burial Service* contained plain and explicit prayers for the deceased person, and full provision was made for a Mass to be celebrated at a burial. The forms for ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons were not published until 1550.

Inasmuch as it is chiefly 'the Mass that matters,' the relation of the Mass in the First Prayer Book to the Sarum Mass will be carefully examined. But before this examination it will be best to notice some of the differences between the service in the First Prayer Book and that in the present Prayer Book. The 'Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass' was almost wholly adapted from the Sarum Missal, except that it incorporated the Order of the Communion of 1548 after the consecration of the elements. The service began with an Introit or Psalm, sung at the entrance of the priest; the Commandments were not read; the name of the Mother of God was specially mentioned in the praise offered for the saints; prayer was offered explicitly for the departed; the consecration included a prayer for the sanctification of the elements by the Holy Spirit and the Word; the words used in delivering the Sacrament were only the first clause of those now used. It was directed that water

should be mixed with the wine, that the sign of the cross should be twice used in the consecration, and that the *Benedictus* and *Agnus* should be sung.

When the Prayer Book came into use the Council immediately exerted itself to make the new worship seem as different as possible from the old, and ordered the disuse of various private ceremonies used by the priest in saying Mass, and also of lights upon the altar and sacring bells.

§ 2. *Cranmer and the Mass.*

At the time of the Reformation three distinct classes of opinion prevailed concerning the Eucharist. The first may be dismissed very briefly. It is the theory of Zwingli, which was to some extent modified and improved by his followers, but which is still widely spread. In plain contradiction with the primitive teaching of the Church, it is taught that no special gift is bestowed in the Sacrament, but that the value of it resides in the effect produced upon the soul by reviving a memory of the death of Christ. Every notion of a mystery in the Sacrament is rejected. The supporters of this theory were known as *Sacramentaries*, and it was almost universally repudiated by all members of the Church of England, whether they held reformed or unreformed opinions.

The other theories may be classified as follows:—

I. Theories now included under the name of the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. *It is assumed that there is a Real Presence attached to the elements at the time of the consecration and before the eating and drinking.* The subordinate forms of this doctrine were these:

A (*a*). The better Roman theory. It is taught that at the consecration the substances of bread and wine are changed into the substances of Christ's Body and

Blood. The size, shape, colour, taste, and all the properties of bread and wine remain, but in some mysterious manner the bread and wine have ceased to be. Together with the size, shape, colour, taste, etc. of bread and wine, our Lord, says Cardinal Newman, 'is in the Holy Eucharist after the manner of a spirit . . . not according to the manner of natural bodies.' This is the doctrine now taught in the Church of Rome and known as *Transubstantiation.*

A (*b*). A debased Roman theory. It was popularly taught and believed that not only did the substance of bread and wine cease to exist, but that our Lord was present in the Eucharist in a material though invisible manner, as described above in Chapter II.

B (*a*). The better Lutheran theory. This strongly resembles the primitive doctrine, as it maintains the co-existence of the substance of bread with the substance of Christ's Body.[1] But it was unfortunately connected with the heretical doctrine that Christ's human nature is present in the Sacrament because it is strictly present everywhere. The Lutherans also taught the novel doctrine that after the conclusion of the communion the presence of Christ was withdrawn from the Sacrament.[2]

B (*b*). A debased Lutheran theory. This was quite as materialistic as the most debased Roman theory, and more so, for it was not only taught that Christ was present 'to the stomach,' but language was employed which suggested that Christ is, as Hooker says, 'invisibly moulded up with' the substance of the elements. There is therefore a confusion of the substance of the bread with the substance of Christ's Body.

[1] Thus Melanchthon in 1535 wrote, 'We must be careful not to oppose the doctrine of the ancients,' and previously he had said that he would rather die than agree with the Zwinglians.

[2] Hence they taught that it ought not to be reserved in a pyx.

This theory is known as *Consubstantiation*, and the same name is applied, somewhat inaccurately, to better varieties of Lutheran doctrine.

II. Theories now included under the name of Receptionist doctrines of the Sacrament. *It is assumed that the effect of the prayer of consecration is to attach to the elements, not a presence, but a promise.* The bread and wine have been blessed, and the Lord's promise is that when the religious communicant partakes of this bread and this wine he partakes of a special mysterious power uniting him to Christ. The subordinate forms of this doctrine are these:—

C. The doctrine of Calvin. It is taught that the elements have the power of communicating to the elect recipients predestined to eternal life the virtue of Christ, so that Christ 'sustains them not otherwise than if He were present in body.' This is ordinarily called the *Virtual Presence.*

D. The doctrine of Bucer. Bucer says, 'The signs have no union whatever with the glorious Body and Blood of Christ.' Nevertheless 'The true Body and Blood of our Lord, Christ Himself, God and man, is given and received' by the worthy communicant. The language of Bucer more closely approximates to Catholic language than that of Calvin, but their meaning appears to be nearly identical. Both these theories are as supernatural as the doctrine of the Real Presence, but put a severe strain upon our faith by teaching that our Lord communicates Himself to us 'by' the elements, as Bucer says, although He is not present in the Sacrament.

If we ask ourselves how the character of public worship in the sixteenth century would have been likely to be affected by a congregation abandoning the doctrine of the Real Presence in favour of the Receptionist theory, a little reflection will convince us that the following changes would be likely to take

place. First, there would be an inclination not to attend at the Eucharist except for the purpose of communicating, inasmuch as no special presence of Christ would be granted to the worshipper unless he communicated. Secondly, there would be a tendency to abandon the use of Eucharistic vestments and altar lights, for if there is no special presence in the Sacrament there is no reason why it should be surrounded with more tokens of reverence than a pulpit. Thirdly, there would be a strong tendency to give up the custom of elevating the host at the consecration, although the abandonment of such a custom would not necessarily mean a denial of the Real Presence, nor even a denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Fourthly, the Sacrament would no longer be reserved for the sick, lest any kind of adoration should be paid to the presence of Christ in the Sacrament so reserved.

All these points are of importance and will help us to estimate the intentions of Cranmer and his associates in compiling the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. For the internal evidence of that Prayer Book agrees minutely with the external evidence derived from other sources. They show that when the book was published Cranmer had himself adopted the Receptionist view, but that he dared not introduce into the book anything which definitely implied a denial of the Real Presence. In fact, the book was so worded that every reader would believe that the doctrine of the Real Presence was retained,[1] and the book must have been accepted and used in that belief. We have conclusive evidence with regard to Cranmer's own convictions at the time when the book was published.

In August 1548 Cranmer made a translation of

[1] The doctrine is almost more explicit than in the *Order of the Communion* of 1548, for whereas the rubric of 1548 speaks of the priest ministering 'the bread' and the deacon 'the wine,' the same rubric in 1549 has 'the Sacrament of the Body' and 'the Sacrament of the Blood.'

a Lutheran catechism. The original says, 'God is almighty, therefore He can do all things that He will. . . . *When He Himself calls and names any thing which was not before, then at once that very thing comes into being as the Lord names it.* Therefore when He takes bread and says: "This is My Body," then immediately there is there the Body of the Lord.' Cranmer in his translation leaves out the words printed above in italics and then continues: 'Wherefore when Christ taketh bread and saith: "Take, eat, this is My Body," we ought not to doubt but we eat His very Body.'

The meaning of the change is as clear as daylight, and Cranmer himself tells us the reason of it. For in 1551, in his answer to Smythe, he says: 'This I confess of myself, that *not long before* I wrote the said catechism I was in that error of the Real Presence as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of Transubstantiation.'[1] Therefore, as the work of compiling the Prayer Book formally began in September 1548, it is certain that Cranmer had deserted the primitive doctrine for the doctrine of Bucer when the compilation was inaugurated.

But he probably still felt scruples, for we possess two letters written in August 1548 by two pupils of the Calvinist Bullinger, in which complaint is made of Cranmer's lukewarmness and lethargy with regard to Eucharistic doctrine.

By the end of 1548 Cranmer was bolder in his statements. Parliament met at the end of November. Before any full discussion of the new Prayer Book, there was a discussion on the doctrine of the Sacrament. The disputation began in the House of Lords on December 14, and lasted for several days. The Protector Somerset acted as moderator. Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, defended the doctrine of the Real Presence, and was supported by Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster,

[1] *Cranmer's Remains*, vol. iii. p. 13 (Oxford edit. 1833).

and several others. Cranmer disputed against Tunstall, and was supported by Holbeach of Lincoln, Ridley of Rochester, and to some extent by Goodrich of Ely.

A few salient points in the dispute demand special attention. Sampson, Bishop of Lichfield, though he refused to accept Cranmer's doctrine, objected to the word 'transubstantiation,' thought the doctrine of the new Prayer Book 'very godly,' and added that he never thought Christ's Body in the Sacrament to be present 'so grossly as divers there alleged.' Probably he meant this as a criticism of Tunstall, who maintained that in the Sacrament 'there is the very Body and Blood of Christ both spiritual *and carnal*.' Tunstall certainly seems to have been guilty of exaggerating the mediæval doctrine, and was understood by the secretary Smythe to mean that 'the natural Body' of Christ was present, so as to necessitate a presence according to physical laws. Ridley urged with moderation that 'the bread of Communion is not mere bread but bread united with Divinity, as a burning coal is more than a coal for there is fire with it.'[1] When asked 'whether the receiver taketh any substance in the Sacrament or not,' he cautiously replied that 'the carnal substance' of Christ is at the right hand of the Father, and 'after this understanding of the presence He is not in the Sacrament.'

If the two parties engaged in the controversy had been anxious to come to an understanding rather than anxious to defend a controversial position, it is possible that such men as Holbeach and the Bishop of Lichfield might have found that they were not hopelessly divided. But Cranmer's line made reconciliation impossible. He declared that 'eating with his mouth giveth nothing to man, nor the body being in the bread. Christ gave to His disciples bread and wine,

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 415.

creatures among us, and called it His Body.' On the fourth and last day of the discussion he said, 'The Body of Christ is in heaven: *Ergo* He is not in the Sacrament,' and he added that 'the Body of Christ cannot be under any form in the Sacrament.' And again he said, 'We cannot eat His Body indeed,' and he compared calling the bread Christ's Body with saying 'This glove is my cap.'[1]

A general survey of this disputation leads us inevitably to the conclusion that in December 1548 Cranmer held the Receptionist theory of the Eucharist. He held the same view as Calvin, but expressed it in more Protestant language than Calvin. But Ridley's language approximates to Catholic language, and in 1555 he asserted that 'the nature of flesh' was 'in the bread' (*Praefatio et Protestatio Nicolai Ridlei*).

If we examine the ceremonial of the First Prayer Book, and thus test its Eucharistic doctrine, we find that Cranmer only secured the most diminutive loophole for the freedom of his own opinions. First, the idea of the communion of the people is emphasised by the insertion of the Order of Communion of 1548, but there is no prohibition of non-communicating attendance. Secondly, Eucharistic vestments are retained, together with other ornaments of the Church then in use. But the rubric permits the use of 'a vestment or *cope*' by the celebrant. The meaning of this was probably not perceived at first. But it was revealed later when Cranmer sang Mass at S. Paul's wearing a satin cap and a cope instead of a mitre and a vestment (*i.e.* chasuble). There were chasubles in plenty at S. Paul's, and a cope of the shape then worn was less convenient to wear than a chasuble. Cranmer can only have done this with the intention of destroying the traditional association between the Eucharist and the chasuble. We have no reason to believe that Cranmer's example in this

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, *Op. cit.*, p. 442.

respect was followed by the clergy generally. Thirdly, the reservation of the Sacrament for the sick is directed by the First Prayer Book. Fourthly, *the elevation of the host is forbidden.* This prohibition was capable of two interpretations. It might be understood as an indirect prohibition to teach any worship of any Real Presence of Christ. Or it might be understood only as an indirect prohibition to teach the doctrine of Transubstantiation. At the time when the Prayer Book first came into use, Cranmer no doubt intended the former. But there is sufficient contemporary evidence to show that Englishmen at that time were too well educated to identify every doctrine of the Real Presence with the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Prayer Book, understood in its natural and grammatical sense, teaches the doctrine of the Real Presence.

The Eucharistic service of 1549 has already been contrasted with the present English Eucharistic service, and must now be compared with the mediæval service, the general outline of which it closely follows. It more strongly resembles the primitive Roman Mass, inasmuch as it contains no private prayers to accompany the Offertory or the Communion. Certain details deserve special notice:—

§ i. The ancient 'Gradual' sung between the Epistle and Gospel is omitted. But we still find an Introit to be sung as the priest enters the chancel, the *Kyrie*, *Gloria in excelsis*, Collect, Epistle, Gospel, and Creed in their old place.

After the Creed came two exhortations from the Order of the Communion of 1548, standing in the place of a homily.

§ ii. The Offertory, which was originally a Psalm, with Antiphons, and had been reduced during the Middle Ages to an Antiphon, was now represented by different verses of Scripture to be sung by the choir. After the placing of bread and wine mixed with water

upon the altar, the service continues as of old with the salutation, 'The Lord be with you,' which with the succeeding versicle, 'Lift up your hearts,' carries our thoughts back to the earliest ages. Then comes the Preface, *Sanctus*, and *Benedictus*.

§ iii. The Canon of the Mass,[1] which is the core of the service, will be examined presently, and will be found printed side by side with the Sarum Canon in Appendix A. In the meantime, let us merely notice that in the First Prayer Book it concludes with the Lord's Prayer, as in the Roman liturgy since the time of Gregory and Augustine. But the pendant prayer which followed the Lord's Prayer is omitted.

§ iv. The service then proceeds, as of old, with the words, 'The peace of the Lord be always with you,' and the answer, 'And with thy spirit.'

Then follows a slight inversion of the mediæval rite. The *Agnus Dei* used to come next, and then the 'commixture' of the sacred elements. In the Prayer Book no direction is given for the commixture, and the *Agnus* is transferred to the time of the communion of the people.[2] The priest exhorts the people to keep 'a joyful and holy feast with the Lord,' and then we have inserted the devotions preparatory to the communion of the people from the Order of the Communion of 1548, ending with the prayer of humble access.

After the communion of the people a verse of Holy Scripture is to be sung, 'called the Post-communion.' Formerly a variable *verse* was sung, called the 'Communion,' and a variable *prayer* called the 'Post-communion.' But as the *Agnus* was now sung during

[1] The title 'Canon' is not printed in this service as in the mediæval books, but it is retained in the Celebration of the Holy Communion for the Sick.

[2] The *Agnus* was more or less moveable in ancient times. In the Roman rite it was formerly sung during the Fraction and is now sung after it. The Charterhouse monks used to sing it after the Communion.

the Communion, it was natural that the next chant should be called the Post-communion.

Lastly, before the blessing came a new prayer, retained as an alternative for the 'prayer of oblation' in our present service. The beginning of this prayer is adapted from the Sarum prayer said by the priest immediately after communion.

Now, the words of this liturgy imply the doctrine of the Real Presence, and teach it more clearly in some respects than even the mediæval Canon of the Mass. The mediæval Canon contains two different prayers of consecration. The first is only preparatory, and occurs before the words of institution, and is—'Which oblation, we beseech Thee, O Almighty God, that Thou wouldest vouchsafe, in all respects, to bless, approve, ratify, and make reasonable and acceptable, that it may become to us the Body and the Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.' The second completes the consecration, and is after the words of institution—'We humbly beseech Thee, O Almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel[1] to Thine altar on high in the sight of Thy Divine Majesty,' etc. The mediæval and modern Roman practice is to teach that the consecration takes place at the words of institution, 'This is My Body'—'This is My Blood,' and by so teaching the prayer last mentioned is rendered unintelligible.

Cranmer and his associates overcame the defects of this interpretation with the utmost skill. They made no attack on the received opinion. But they altered the first prayer into: 'Hear us (O merciful Father), we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us

[1] This Angel is perhaps the divine Word or Son of God, Who is so called in early Christian literature.

the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.' This phraseology was almost certainly derived from the Liturgy of S. Basil, in which the consecration depends upon a direct invocation of the Holy Ghost. Then having made the consecration take place in a manner which would be recognised as valid both by Eastern and Western Christendom, they altered the second prayer into a request that 'our prayers and supplications' might be brought before the sight of the Divine Majesty.[1] There was no longer any necessity for asking that the gifts already hallowed should be blessed again.

A further question remains. Does the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. imply the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice?

The answer must be in the affirmative, in spite of the fact that modern writers sometimes state that Cranmer treated all the sentences which implied the Eucharistic sacrifice as so many weeds which he felt obliged to pluck up. No doubt he was ready in some measure to deny the Eucharistic sacrifice inasmuch as he wished to deny the doctrine of the Real Presence. The doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice is closely connected with the doctrine of the Real Presence. If the Body and Blood of Christ are not really present on the altar, the Victim of Calvary cannot be present on the altar, and if the Victim is not present, the sacrificial character of the service is changed. A man who holds the Receptionist theory believes that the Presence of Christ is only to be found in the faithful communicant. Therefore, although he can believe that the faithful communicant pleads the merits of the Divine Victim, he cannot believe that the Body and Blood of Christ are offered under the forms of bread and wine. Now it is impossible to prove that Cranmer eliminated the Catholic

[1] This was in accordance with a mediæval explanation of the words *jube haec perferri*.

doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, unless it can be proved that he eliminated statements which plainly imply the above doctrine.

He left the word *altar*, which does imply the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice. He retained the words 'sacrifice of praise,' transferring them from the beginning of the Canon of the Mass to a position immediately after the consecration, and connecting them with the 'holy gifts' which have been already blessed to be the Body and Blood of Christ. The name 'sacrifice of praise' is borrowed from the Old Testament, where it is applied to the peace-offering, and the First Prayer Book enlarges it by calling it 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.' The last word recalls the name Eucharist (thanksgiving), and also the oblation of the Jewish peace-offering as a sacrifice of thanksgiving (Lev. vii. 12-13). We may add that the phrase 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' is the precise phrase which the mediæval party in 1546 compelled Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, to apply to 'the oblation and action of the priest' in the Mass, as one of the proofs that he repudiated the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist.[1] Therefore a natural interpretation of the words employed forces us to say that the First Prayer Book teaches the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, although Cranmer had ceased to believe in that doctrine when the book was published. Does the Roman and Sarum Canon of the Mass give any more explicit teaching on this subject than the First Prayer Book? No. The Roman and Sarum Canon applies the following sacrificial terms to the Eucharist: 'sacrifice of praise' once; 'sacrifices' (*sacrificia*) once; 'gifts' (*dona*) twice; 'bounties' (*data*) once; 'presents' (*munera*) once; 'oblation' twice. The word 'host' (*hostia*) occurs thrice, but is really said once, and repeated for the sake of

[1] Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. bk. iii. Record 29.

emphasis. It is now sometimes translated 'victim,' but it may mean any kind of oblation, and both in Roman books and the reformed Latin Prayer Book of 1551 it is applied to the unconsecrated bread. It should be observed that the word 'bounties' must be struck out of this list, and also one of the two cases in which the word 'gifts' occurs, as the words mean the bounties and gifts as given by God to man, and not as offered by man to God.

The list still appears an imposing testimony to the doctrine that the Body and Blood of Christ are offered to the Father in the Eucharist, but on examination the testimony vanishes. It will be a startling fact to some who have not studied the history of the Roman Canon of the Mass to learn that not a single sacrificial phrase occurs in it after the prayer which anciently completed the consecration of the bread and wine. All these sacrificial terms except the word 'host' occur not merely before this prayer, but actually before the words 'This is My Body,' which are now regarded as the words of consecration. Moreover, all the sacrificial terms before 'This is My Body,' *except the expression 'sacrifice of praise,'* are simply names for the bread and wine, which all English sovereigns 'offer' at the Coronation Eucharist.

There remains the thrice repeated word 'host,' which occurs between the words 'This is My Body' and the ancient prayer which completed the consecration. The context makes it evident that the word here originally meant the bread and wine regarded as likenesses of the Body and Blood of Christ, and parallel with the bread and wine mentioned in the story of Melchizedek.[1]

[1] Dom Aidan Gasquet, who has made every effort to prove that the First Prayer Book is heretical, instead of explaining the true meaning of this part of the Roman Canon, contents himself with saying that it is 'admittedly difficult and mysterious' (*Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 210). The solution of the mystery is that the Roman Canon teaches the same doctrine as that of the First Prayer Book.

Cranmer omitted this ambiguous and misinterpreted phrase, and replaced it by 'this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' adding to it a mention of the oblation of ourselves, 'our souls and bodies.' When we remember that the bread and wine according to the First Prayer Book had already been consecrated so as to be the Body and Blood of Christ, the conclusion is obvious. It is that the Canon of the Mass in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. contains a definite reference to the Eucharistic sacrifice as offered after the consecration, whereas the Roman Canon, rightly interpreted, does not contain any such reference.

Cranmer afterwards denied the fact, but the question is not what Cranmer said after the book was published, but what was the natural meaning of the words which he wrote. All the bishops affixed their signatures to the Prayer Book, except Day of Chichester, and they all seem to have used it. Gardiner in particular appealed to the Prayer Book as teaching the doctrines of the Eucharistic sacrifice and the Real Objective Presence. The nature of the other services contained in the First Prayer Book will be described in their proper place. It only remains to consider whether the book had the definite sanction of the Church of England.

It is probable that Convocation sanctioned it, but it is not quite certain. The records of Convocation were burnt in the 'great fire' of 1666, and therefore we have no first-hand evidence. Against the idea that it was submitted to Convocation, or even the Convocation of Canterbury without the Convocation of York, is the fact that the Act of Uniformity of 1549 only speaks of the authority of 'the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men.' This must refer to the Windsor Commission, and cannot refer to Convocation. Moreover, Heylyn, who was clerk to Convocation in

the time of Charles I., and was acquainted with the records before they were destroyed, knows nothing of any action of Convocation in the matter. On the other hand, there is the strong assertion made in a letter from the King to Bishop Bonner to the effect that the uniform order of worship had been set forth 'not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late Parliament, but also by the like assent of the bishops in the said Parliament, and of all others the learned men of this our realm in their synods and convocations provincial.' Other statements made by the Government are ambiguous, but there can be no doubt as to the meaning of 'convocations provincial,' and there can be no doubt that Bonner must have known the truth, and that in this case diplomacy could have gained nothing by falsehood.

§ 3. *The Triumph of Protestantism.*

The First Prayer Book was not very popular, for the simple reason that men do not like to have their form of worship suddenly disturbed. Nevertheless we may be sure that before long it would have commended itself to the piety of the majority of Englishmen, and the extreme Reformers were enraged to find that in places like S. Paul's Cathedral there was very little difference between the new ceremonial and the old.[1] But the Government was determined to change the platform of the First Prayer Book into a slope. In spite of the depravity of morals which attended the introduction of Calvinist and Zwinglian doctrines,[2] it

[1] In 1549 a book for choir use was published as a companion to the Prayer Book, and in 1550 Marbecke published his 'Book of Common Praier—Noted,' founded on the pre-Reformation plainsong.

[2] Calvin says that man 'is under the necessity of sinning,' and Zwingli says that God is 'the author, mover, and impeller' of the sins of men. Such doctrine was not calculated to promote holiness.

was intended to make the Church of England a compound of Calvinism and Zwinglianism. Traheron, writing to Bullinger, June 12, 1550, says: 'Religion is indeed prospering, but the wickedness of those who profess the gospel is wonderfully on the increase.'

The prosperity of 'religion' was shown in many ways. The Protestant literary propaganda continued. In 1549 there was published, with a dedication to the King, *A Tragoedie or Dialoge of the unjuste usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome*, translated by John Ponet, a chaplain of Cranmer, from a work of Bernardino Ochino, a renegade Italian monk, who soon afterwards denied the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The book is violent and vulgar, and treats the doctrine of free-will as the invention of Lucifer. It is surpassed by the scurrilous book entitled *The Image of bothe Churches*, written by Bale in 1548, but not printed until 1550, the Council having apparently delayed its publication until a suitable moment. About the same time was published *The Spyritual and Precious Pearle*, by Thomas Becon, who was chaplain both to Somerset and Cranmer. The obscene work on the Mass which rendered Becon notorious was not published until 1559, so that we can charitably hope that Cranmer chose his chaplain without knowing of what he was capable.

Two other books, both of which had the licence of the Government, must be mentioned as intended to pave the way for Calvinism. One is a catechism called *The True Beliefe in Christ and his Sacramentes, set forth in a Dialogue betwene a Christen Father and his Sonne, verye necessary to be learned of all Men, of what estate soever they be.* It is dedicated to the Duchess of Somerset. It teaches the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, and affirms that the godly, *i.e.* the predestined who believe in Christ, 'cannot sin unto death.' The other book is even more important. It

is a revision of Tyndale's New Testament, and was published in 1552 by Jugge. It is amply supplied with notes of a Calvinistic tendency. On Acts xxii. we read concerning Baptism that 'by a figure called *alloiosis*, the same is ascribed unto the outward sign, which doth only pertain unto the grace and election of God.' On S. Luke xxii. we read concerning the Eucharist that 'the cup doth only represent unto us the New Testament, that is to say, the forgiveness of our sins that we have in the Blood of Christ.'[1]

The doctrines which the Government encouraged were actively propagated by the foreign reformers who came to dwell in England to escape molestation. The most important were Martin Bucer, John à Lasco, and Peter Martyr. Bucer came to England in 1549, and was made Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. He was a learned and, in some respects, an attractive man. His views were far more moderate than those of many of his contemporaries, and he approved of the First Prayer Book, 'a very few words and acts apart.' His chief objection was to the ceremonial of the baptismal service. He died in February 1551, and the way was left clear for the work of Peter Martyr and À Lasco. Peter Martyr was a Florentine monk of good birth; he came to England in 1548, and was appointed Professor of Divinity at Oxford. In 1548 a tract of his which taught a Receptionist theory of the Eucharist was translated into English and dedicated to Somerset. His doctrine seems to have subsequently tended in a Zwinglian direction. He maintained that it was a useless repetition to repeat the words of consecration 'whenever it happens during communion in the Church that wine is wanting in the cup.' With regard to Baptism, he held that it was a sign of a regeneration which God had perhaps bestowed previously upon the child baptized. He expressly denied that grace is

[1] See *Athenæum*, June 1886.

conferred by virtue of the Sacraments. He strongly objected to the reservation of the Eucharist for the sick. He called the Eucharistic vestments 'relics of the Amorites,' and was such a fanatic that he thought it better for a Protestant child to die unbaptized than that it should be baptized by Lutherans.[1] À Lasco (in Polish 'Laski'), a Polish nobleman and bishop who lived with Cranmer at Lambeth in 1550, held similar views. In his book *De Sacramentis Ecclesiae*, which was printed in 1552 and dedicated to Edward VI., he describes both circumcision and the Passover as Sacraments, and regards Sacraments as signs of a grace which is bestowed upon the elect previously.

The protection which was extended by the Government to À Lasco and Peter Martyr is therefore of a piece with the licence given to Calvinist and Zwinglian books. It was determined to destroy root and branch every form of Catholic doctrine or any Lutheran doctrine which approximated to Catholicism rather than to the extreme Protestantism of Switzerland. The First Prayer Book was therefore doomed. The path was cleared by depriving Gardiner and Heath and Day of their bishoprics, and sending Tunstall to the Tower on a fictitious charge of treason. Heath had to make way for Hooper, who spoke of the First Prayer Book as impious in parts, avowed his disbelief in apostolical succession, and taught a naked Zwinglianism, putting Baptism on a level with circumcision.

Cranmer, stirred up by Calvin, summoned to his aid the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Ely, obtained criticisms from Peter Martyr and Bucer, and began to remodel the Prayer Book. In April 1552 Parliament passed a statute declaring the First Prayer Book to be 'agreeable to the word of God and the primitive Church,' but saying that doubts had arisen through 'curiosity,' and that therefore the

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, iii. ch. xv.

book would be explained and made perfect. The new book came into use, November 1, 1552, and was found to contain very important alterations. In the *Daily Offices* the exhortation, confession, and absolution were directed to be said before Morning and Evening Prayer. In *Baptism*, the exorcism, the anointing, the putting on of the chrisom or baptismal robe, and the triple repetition of the immersion were omitted. In the *Visitation of the Sick* the anointing and the direction for reserving the Sacrament for the sick were omitted. In the *Burial Service* the more explicit prayers for the departed and the Mass for funerals were omitted. In the *Ordinations* the ceremonies of delivering the chalice to the priest and the pastoral staff to the bishop were omitted. The outward aspect of the services was greatly changed by a rubric ordering that neither alb, vestment, nor cope should be worn; a bishop was to wear a rochet and a priest only a surplice. The word 'Mass' was dropped, and the Office for Holy Communion altered into a form identical in structure with the present Office, although the small changes which have been subsequently introduced have cut through the peculiar root of the Communion Service of 1552.

That root was Cranmer's latest doctrine of the Eucharist.

The actual method of remodelling the Mass was apparently suggested by a book of Bishop Gardiner. This was *An Explication and Assertion of the True Catholic Faith touching the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*. It was printed in 1551, and was a criticism of Cranmer's book on the Eucharist published in 1549. He contrasts the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer, which he treats as Catholic, with the opinions expressed in Cranmer's book. Five points deserve especial notice.[1]

[1] *Cranmer's Remains*, vol. iii. pp. 155, 145, 347, 93, 217 (Oxford edit. 1833).

(1). Gardiner refers to the prayers offered for the living and the dead after the consecration as a proof that the Eucharist was still to be regarded as a sacrifice offered in their behalf. When the Second Prayer Book appeared the prayers for the dead were omitted, and the prayers for the living were shifted to a place after the Offertory and before the consecration.

(2). Gardiner asserts that the doctrine of the Real Presence is implied in the prayer 'wherein we require of God the creatures of bread and wine to be sanctified and to be to us the Body and Blood of Christ.' In the Second Prayer Book this prayer was altered.

(3). Gardiner thinks that an adoration of Christ's Flesh in the Sacrament is implied in the kneeling of the priest and the prayer (now called the 'prayer of humble access'), which then stood *after* the consecration and before the Communion. In the Second Prayer Book this prayer was put *before* the consecration.

(4). Gardiner points out that in 'the distribution' of Holy Communion it is said that the Body and Blood of Christ are 'under the form of bread and wine.' For communicating the sick the Sarum and York Manuals gave the form: 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and thy soul unto everlasting life. Amen.' Chichele's Pontifical directed the same words to be said when Communion was given to those just confirmed. In the First Prayer Book this formula was used at every Mass with a short addition from Hermann. In the Second Prayer Book it was expunged and replaced by the words: 'Take, and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.'

(5). Gardiner points out that the rubric attached to the Mass of 1549 says: 'And every one [*i.e.* of the consecrated hosts] shall be divided in two pieces, at

the least, or more, by the discretion of the minister and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part than in whole, but in each of them the whole Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.' In the Second Prayer Book this was omitted.

We should notice that the *Benedictus* and the *Agnus Dei* were omitted. The omission must have been dictated by a desire to deny that the Blessed One is present in the Sacrament and that He is there to be adored as the Lamb of God. The same intention is manifested in the Black Rubric appended to the Communion Service of 1552. It is there declared that kneeling at Communion does not mean 'that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. For as concerning the Sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's true natural Body, to be in more places than in one at one time.' This declaration was added by the Council three days before the stated day of publication. They would have forbidden kneeling at communion, if Cranmer had not opposed them.

It may be truly urged that the Second Prayer Book here and there manifests a desire to retain Catholic forms where they might escape notice. It is also true that the actual form of the Communion Service, apart from the Black Rubric, does not condemn any Catholic doctrine, and that the prayer of consecration is possibly derived from the Catholic Mozarabic rite, either directly or indirectly through the German form used

in Brandenburg and Nürnberg.[1] And it is probable that the book is in some true sense a well-meant compromise. Men like Cranmer were perhaps afraid that the whole Church of England would break in pieces before the attacks of Zwinglians and Anabaptists. They may have feared the extreme Protestants more than the extreme mediævalists. But the fact remains that the Second Prayer Book made it, for the first time, possible for adherents of the English Reformation to hold fundamentally heretical views with regard to an ordinance of Christ, and yet maintain that their views were justified by the services of the Church. The whole book is also marked by the essentially schismatical principle that a laudable practice of the Catholic Church ought to be abolished if it has been misused. All experience proves that regulation and not abolition is the real cure, and that abolition will simply bring about an unreasoning reaction. Queen Mary and the English Jesuits are the answer which history has given to King Edward and the Calvinists.

The Second Prayer Book received no sanction on the part of the Church of England. Its publication was a gross breach of faith, as the Council had falsely declared in a previous statute of Parliament that it was an explanation and perfection of the former 'Order of Common Service.' Side by side with the revision of the Prayer Book, Cranmer and others were engaged on the compilation of Forty-two Articles of Religion. They were published with royal authority in May 1552. They carefully deny the doctrine of the Real Presence, and when these Articles were taken in the reign of Elizabeth as the basis for our present Thirty-nine Articles, it was found necessary to

[1] With regard to the actual words of consecration we should note that they are practically the same in the First and Second Prayer Book. But in the First Book they are connected with a definite prayer involving the doctrine of the Real Presence.

erase this and numerous other statements of a Protestant character. The Forty-two Articles were not sanctioned by the Church of England, but the Council, with lying effrontery, published them with a title-page asserting that they had been agreed upon by the bishops in Convocation.

CHAPTER V

THE ANGLICAN RESTORATION

> As far as they (which are of the Church of Rome) follow reason and truth, we fear not to tread the selfsame steps wherein they have gone, and to be their followers. Richard Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Bk. v. ch. 28, § 1. A.D. 1594.

§ 1. *The Elizabethan Settlement.*

It has been remarked that each of the three royal children of Henry VIII. probably intended to follow one aspect of Henry's religious policy. Henry's strong opposition to Rome was inherited by Edward VI., who, if he had lived, would probably have reduced the Church of England to a Calvinistic sect. Mary was a mediævalist by conviction, but with a stronger leaning towards Rome than had been commonly found in English sovereigns of the mediæval period. Elizabeth, on the other hand, represented the policy of moderation and reformed Catholicism to which the liturgical changes of Henry's reign and *The Bishops' Book* had pointed. The difficulties which confronted her in carrying out her policy were enormous. The moderate or Anglican party was small in numbers, and moderation was not always united with enthusiasm. The mediæval party was very strong. Edward's excesses had caused a decided reaction in favour of mediæval worship, although the reaction was weakened by

popular disgust at the brutal persecution of Protestants in the Southern and Eastern counties. One extreme theory begets the opposite extreme.

This was shown by the birth of English Puritanism. When Mary began to persecute, there began an exodus to the Continent of some hundreds of English priests, who found a home in Strassburg, Frankfurt, Zürich, and Geneva. At Frankfurt the magistrates allowed the English to make use of the same church as the French Calvinists. The English chose as their chaplain John Knox, who had been ordained in Scotland, had become a Protestant about 1545, and had been forced to leave Great Britain in 1547 and again in 1554. A description of the English service (that of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.) was sent to Calvin 'for his judgment therein.' The description was drawn up by Knox and others, and was unsympathetic and occasionally contemptuous. The prayer for the Church militant is called 'a long heap and mixture of matters,' Confirmation is ridiculed, the sign of the cross in Baptism and the ring in Marriage are severely criticised. Calvin, whose genius had raised him to a position where his word was law, replied that he saw in the English liturgy many 'tolerable absurdities.'

Some of the exiles, led by Dean Cox, tried to resist the influence of Calvin upon their worship. But circumstances told heavily upon them, and when the exiles returned to England the majority of them had learned to believe that the Pope was Anti-Christ, and that anything which the Pope allowed in public worship was the work of the devil, unless it could be proved to possess the sanction of the New Testament.

Elizabeth was in a most difficult position. But she was determined, both by prudence and conviction, to espouse the cause of the moderate party. She had no love for the Roman see, which regarded her as the

offspring of an illegitimate union. She had nothing in common with John Knox, who had lately written against the monstrosity of a kingdom being ruled by a woman,[1] and at the age of fifty-nine himself fell a victim to the charms of a girl of seventeen. Elizabeth proceeded delicately. Mass according to the use of Sarum was still said in the royal chapel, although on the Christmas Day of 1558, a little more than a month after her accession, she requested Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, not to elevate the host, and left the chapel because he refused to comply with her command. Her conduct on this occasion can only be explained on the supposition that she regarded this ceremony as necessarily connected with some materialistic theory of Christ's presence. For she told De Feria, the ambassador of Philip of Spain, that 'she held that God was really present in the Sacrament,' and her action with regard to the Prayer Book abundantly proves that this was her belief. By a proclamation issued two days after her quarrel with Oglethorpe, it was allowed that the Epistle and the Gospel, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany might be said in English. On December 27, 1558, all preaching was forbidden in order to prevent the spread of dissension. An Italian agent of the time records with the regrets of a sincere Roman Catholic the changes in the Church. He tells us that on Easter Sunday, March 26, 1559, 'Mass was sung in English,' in the Queen's chapel according to Edward's Prayer Book with vestments, and that on S: George's Day, April 23, the Queen wished to procure and use the magnificent processional crosses kept in the Tower (*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1558-1580, pp. 57, 74).

The Queen in the meantime asked for the assistance of Sir Thomas Smith, a learned lawyer, who drew up

[1] In a tract called *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, and a *Second Blast*.

a document entitled 'Device for the alteration of religion.' He advised the appointment of a cabinet of councillors who should be made acquainted with the Queen's wishes and aid her to select a committee of divines to revise the services of the Church. The councillors were directed by William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, a shrewd and vigorous politician, who was disposed to encourage Puritanism. The revision of the liturgy was entrusted to Parker, Grindal, Cox, and a few others, to be assisted by Sir Thomas Smith. Parker was learned, conscientious, and moderate; Cox and Grindal had become infected with Calvinism during their Continental travels.

Parker fell ill, and his place was taken by Guest or Geste, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. Sir Thomas Smith, as representing the Queen's opinions, advised the adoption of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. But the revisers were probably unwilling to alienate the Puritan party; they wished to make concessions, and an explanatory letter written by Guest to Cecil maintains the principle that, if ceremonies have once been taken away as misused, they should not be again adopted. When we recollect that it is certain that Guest in some confused fashion believed in the doctrine of the Real Presence, it is astonishing that in this letter he opposes the use of the cross and the chasuble, the retention of which ornaments was so intimately connected with that doctrine. He also advises that non-communicants should be dismissed before the consecration, and attacks the use of prayers for the dead. The conclusion of the whole matter was that the committee of divines put aside the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., and entrusted Parker with the disagreeable duty of reconciling the Queen to their decision. But the Queen was determined that if she accepted the Second Prayer Book she would only accept it in a catholicised form.

Elizabeth's first Parliament met on January 25, 1559. On the 24th, Convocation assembled, and in a few days the clergy issued a formal protest against any alteration in the existing form of religion. They emphasised three points in the doctrine of the Mass; also the supremacy of the Pope, and the fact that it belongs to 'the pastors of the Church and not to laymen' to define doctrine and discipline ecclesiastical. Four of these five articles were endorsed by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The House of Commons at once declared war against Convocation in a bill annexing supremacy to the Crown. This was first read on February 15, and on the next day a Uniformity Bill 'for Common Prayer and Administering of Sacraments' was read. Knowing the opposition of Convocation, the Commons entrenched themselves behind the royal supremacy, and left the Uniformity Bill alone till the supremacy was practically secured.

In the meantime the Queen had directed Heath, Archbishop of York, to arrange a public disputation between the mediæval and the reforming parties in Westminster Abbey. There were to be not less than eight disputants on each side.

On the mediæval side there were four bishops—White of Winchester, Bayne of Lichfield, Scott of Chester, Watson of Lincoln; Cole, Dean of S. Paul's; Chedsey, Prebendary of S. Paul's; Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewes; and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury. Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, assisted.

On the reforming side were Scory, formerly Bishop of Chichester; Cox, formerly Dean of Westminster: Horn of Durham, Whitehead, Grindal, Guest, Elmar, and Jewel.

The dispute began on Friday, March 31, 1559. Sir Nicolas Bacon came to represent the Crown, and the Privy Council sat in the stalls of the monks. The

prelates and other disputants sat below them in the choir. The Houses of Parliament attended, and the abbey was crowded with sightseers. Three subjects had been agreed upon for discussion:—

1. It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the Sacraments.

2. Every particular Church hath authority to institute, change, and abrogate ceremonies and rites in the Church, so that it be to edify.

3. It cannot be proved by the word of God that there is in the Mass offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

We cannot fail to notice that of these three subjects only the third is of a strictly doctrinal nature. Without the slightest surrender of principle the mediævalists might have granted the first assertion of their opponents. They might after some discussion have agreed upon the second, inasmuch as the Churches of England, Spain, and Italy had long varied in their ceremonies. With regard to the third subject, the utmost care was needed in giving a definition of the word 'propitiatory.' For the Mass might either be called propitiatory with the idea that each celebration of the Mass has a separate propitiatory character of its own, or it might be called propitiatory with the idea that it commemorates the propitiatory death of Christ and pleads before the Father the merits of Him Who is 'the propitiation for our sins.' The first of these ideas is unscriptural, and the second is scriptural. Both ideas had been held in the Middle Ages.[1]

[1] A reconciliation between the two parties with regard to the Eucharistic sacrifice was not an impossibility. Even Cranmer said of the schoolman Peter Lombard that he 'confirmeth fully my doctrine,' and his opponent Gardiner said the sacrifice of the Mass was not 'an iteration of the once perfected sacrifice on the cross,' but 'a sacrifice that representeth that sacrifice, and showeth it also before the faithful

When the dispute was opened, Cole argued on behalf of the use of the Latin language. His speech was foolish in spite of its subtlety. It was impossible to convince the audience that to abandon the use of Latin involved an act of schism, or that so expressive and copious a language as the English could be treated as if it were still an 'inferior and barbarous' idiom unsuited for the dignity of divine worship. Unfortunately the disputation only ended in a misunderstanding. According to the etiquette of the Schools, the mediævalist party was entitled to speak second as *opposing* the assertions of the other party. But when the mediævalists met again on the Monday after the debate was opened, Sir Nicolas Bacon tried to compel them to speak first, an arrangement in which they had previously acquiesced. This would have left the reformers the advantage of having the last word, and the mediævalists now declined. Angry protests followed, and Bacon pronounced the discussion closed.

Parliament met a few days later. The Commons brought the Supremacy Bill to its final stage, and then read the Bill for Uniformity of Worship, April 18, 1559. The Bill re-established the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., with a few additions, which will be described presently. The Commons appear to have accepted it without division. The Lords opposed it with energy. Two important speeches have been preserved. The first is that made by Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, and the second is that of Scott, Bishop

eyes, and refresheth the effectual memory of it.' The difference between them was partly a difference as to meaning attached to the word 'propitiatory.' Gardiner appealed to Hebrews xiii. as justifying the application of the word propitiatory to all sacrifices accepted by God through Christ. Cranmer said that the word could not be so applied, because S. Paul and S. John speak of Christ as being the propitiation for our sins only by His death. Cranmer admitted that Gardiner had 'some good sparks of the Spirit,' but compared him to a cow overthrowing her own milk.—Answer to Gardiner, *Cranmer's Remains*, vol. iii. p. 540 ff. (Oxford edit. 1833).

of Chester. Neither of them was conciliatory, for neither of them admitted that there was any necessity for reform. But both are marked by considerable ability. Both fasten upon the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. as denying the doctrine of the Real Presence. Scott said 'no consecration at all' is intended by it. Feckenham showed how the foreign reformers differed among themselves, and how Ridley and Cranmer had changed their own opinions. He declared that the First Prayer Book affirmed the Real Presence of Christ's Body in the Holy Eucharist, while the Second ignored it. He spoke of the revolting blasphemy of Protestants who trampled on the Sacrament and hung the knave of clubs over the altars in derision. He therefore appealed to the lords not to forsake their professed religion, which had the confirmation of 'all Peter's successors in the see apostolic.'[1]

Feckenham hit hard, but the mediævalists overestimated their strength. The Bill passed on April 28, 1559, by a majority of three, and it provided that the Prayer Book should come into use on June 24.

Nine lords spiritual opposed it. In May they appeared before the Queen, and Archbishop Heath exhorted her to reconsider her determination. The Queen refused to yield, and in the course of the year thirteen bishops were deposed. At first sight it may seem strange that in the time of Henry the bishops of the mediæval party accepted the royal supremacy with so little hesitation, and that almost all the bishops of the same party firmly refused to accept the supremacy of Elizabeth, who explained her powers in a more conciliatory manner than Henry.[2] The reason is to be

[1] Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, p. 104.

[2] Queen Elizabeth expressly refused the title 'Supreme Head' of the Church which was borne by Henry, Edward VI., and by Mary during the first year of her reign. Elizabeth used, on the contrary, the title 'Supreme Governor.' We should notice that it is wholly inaccurate to say that the royal supremacy, even as asserted by Henry

found in the history of the reign of Edward VI. and in the history of the Prayer Book in the time of Edward. The bishops loved Rome more because they knew Geneva better. They preferred 'the shadow of Peter' to the gloom of Calvinism, and the authority of a distant Pope seemed less tyrannical than the authority of a dictating Parliament. Strong in conviction, though not in numbers, they withdrew and left the field to be occupied by their adversaries.

When Elizabeth came to the throne there were twenty-six sees in England and Wales, exclusive of the see of Sodor and Man. Six were then vacant through death, and nine more bishops died within a few months. It truly seemed as if God was taking His kingdom from their hands.

Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, December 17, 1559, and the vacant sees were then rapidly filled. Of the eleven surviving Marian bishops, Kitchen of Llandaff conformed (died 1563), as did Stanley of Sodor and Man (died 1570). Goldwell went into exile, Poole was left in restricted liberty, and the remaining eight were imprisoned until 1563. The last to die were Watson, in 1584, and Goldwell, in 1585. They were somewhat roughly treated, but none of them suffered the extreme penalty of the law, and it is to the lasting credit of Parker, the new primate, that he was scolded by Cecil for his leniency to Bishop Thirlby and Dean Boxall.

The Elizabethan Prayer Book, as sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity of 1559, was distasteful to many of the reforming party, because it contained certain changes which were deliberately intended to include the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.

VIII., replaced the supremacy of the Pope, either in the sense in which the Pope's supremacy was understood then or is now understood. Neither Henry nor Elizabeth believed that bishops derive their spiritual authority from an earthly sovereign.

1. The use of the Eucharistic vestments was restored. It was directed *that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the VI.* The use of the cross, candlesticks, and censer would naturally be covered by this rule.[1]

2. The priest in administering Holy Communion was directed to use, in addition to the words 'Take and eat,' etc., and 'Drink this,' etc., the ancient formulæ which were traditionally connected with the doctrine of the Real Presence, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ,' etc., and 'The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,' etc.

3. The Black Rubric at the end of the Communion Service, which declared that kneeling at the time of Communion did not imply adoration 'unto any *real and essential presence* there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood,' was struck out.

We may also observe that when the Thirty-nine Articles were issued in 1563, the 28th Article was carefully altered in such a way as to deny no longer the possibility of the Body of Christ being present in many places at the same time after a spiritual manner.

4. There was removed from the Litany the virulent prayer for deliverance 'from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities.'

There were a few minor alterations which hardly call for special mention, but improvements of some importance were made by appointing a Table of Proper Lessons for Sundays, and by directing that Morning and Evening Prayer were to be held in 'the accustomed

[1] A thurifer was appointed at Lincoln Cathedral some time after the introduction of the English service, viz. on March 3, 1560.—*Reports of the Architectural Societies of Lincoln and Nottingham* for 1886 (Williamson, Lincoln). It is well-known that Bishop Andrewes, who had been a chaplain of Elizabeth, used incense during divine service.

place' (*i.e.* the Choir), whereas the Second Prayer Book had said 'in such place as the people may best hear.'

The general tendency of these changes is unmistakable. They show that the Queen intended to have a service which was Catholic although reformed. An exceedingly interesting illustration of her religious attitude was shown in September 1559 on the occasion of the death of Henry II., King of France. A magnificent catafalque was erected in the Cathedral of S. Paul's, London, and in the afternoon of September 8 the Dirge for the Dead was sung in English by Parker and other bishops-elect. On the next morning a solemn requiem Mass was sung in English by bishops attired in copes, six of the principal mourners communicating. If services of this type had been more common, it is certain that many of those who eventually threw in their lot with the Church of Rome would have lived as loyal sons of the Church of England. Indeed, for several years many members of this party attended their parish churches. All over England the old vicar or rector remained in his parsonage and his church. Out of more than nine thousand clergy less than three hundred repudiated the Reformation. Moreover, Pope Pius V., according to the positive assertion of Sir Francis Walsingham, who received the offer from the papal nuncio in France, would have declared the English Prayer Book to be Catholic, and allowed its use, 'if the Queen would have acknowledged the same as received from him.'[1] But the Queen refused, for to acknowledge that she received the Prayer Book by the Pope's leave would have been to acknowledge that he was universal bishop with jurisdiction in England as in Italy.

Many of the new bishops were not merely Protestant but Puritan, men who, instead of enforcing the rubrics of the Prayer Book, winked at any ecclesiastical lawlessness so long as it was not Catholic lawlessness. The

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1569-1571, p. 477.

Puritans actually taunted the bishops for not wearing what the Prayer Book directs, and asked why they did not bear the pastoral staff, and why the alb was laid aside and the surplice retained. The Protestant section of the clergy had their own Bible (the Genevan version), with Calvinistic notes, and their own ceremonial, and in 1572 they started a Presbyterian organisation of the ministry. They began to insert the whole Genevan system into the framework of the English Church, and agreed that the ceremonies which they disliked 'ought to be omitted, if it may be done without danger of being put from the ministry.'[1] In 1565 the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, signalised himself by wearing a hat with his gown instead of a square cap, and refusing to 'communicate kneeling in wafer-bread.' It should be explained that wafer-bread was expressly directed to be used in Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559, and its use was constantly enforced by Parker. The Puritan resistance to the law was even more vehement in Cambridge than in Oxford, and the country reflected the opinion of the Universities. In 1566 Parker, after interviewing the Queen, sent to Cecil a copy of so-called *Advertisements*, in which an attempt was made, not indeed to enforce the full ceremonial of the Prayer Book, but to enforce such a minimum as was necessary to terminate the prevailing chaos. Even then thirty-seven of the London clergy refused to conform, against sixty-one who promised to obey. Probably the recalcitrants knew that their bishop, Grindal, was reluctant to enforce conformity, and we read that the infuriated Queen once 'rated him soundly, and threatened to punish him for an anabaptist.'[2]

[1] See Dr. Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. 67.

[2] An instance of the manner in which some of these bishops continued the worst abuses is to be found in the fact that Davyes, Bishop of S. Asaph, instituted Philip Sydney to the parsonage of Whitford when Sydney was ten years old.

The nonconformists within the Church were so far successful that the legal ceremonial of the Church fell into wide disuse. They would have been greatly astonished if they could have learned that in the nineteenth century their disuse of the ornaments enjoined in 1559 would be considered a proof that such ornaments were inconsistent with the spirit of the Church of England.

The Queen, who was never a deeply religious woman, robbed the Church so unmercifully that it was not always possible to maintain the outward splendour of God's service. Yet there never faded from her eyes the attraction of that type of worship which originally appealed to her conscience. She used to perform on Maundy Thursday the ritual of the washing of the feet of the poor, much as it is still performed at the royal court of Spain. And, in spite of the Puritans, the Eucharist continued to be celebrated in the royal chapel with the pomp which she thought fitting for the King of kings. The crucifix was sometimes placed upon the altar, the celebrant, deacon, and sub-deacon wore their sumptuous copes, tapers stood upon the altar, censers were retained, wafer-bread was still used for the Communion, and the Queen received the chalice not with bare hands, but with a houselling cloth 'moste princely' held at the ends by four noble earls.

Here must end our account of the Elizabethan settlement of the English Book of Common Prayer. It is a settlement which gained from the Church of England simply the approval of acquiescence. It was not at the time formally sanctioned. As, long before, in the days of Catholic unity, the civil power made short work of the rites of Paris and Toledo, so the civil power now brushed away the rites of Sarum and Hereford. A true estimation of such changes cannot be based upon the authority which made them, but only upon the reasons for which they were made.

The Latin Prayer Book as used in the reign of Elizabeth is of some importance, although it did not receive the express and formal sanction of the Church. In 1551 Alexander Alane or Alesius, a Scottish divine, published a Latin translation of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. The translation is inaccurate, and in some cases shows a return to the language of the mediæval books. In the rubrics greater clearness is sometimes attained by a reference to current practice. For instance, the rubric 'the priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle,' is paraphrased 'the priest or sub-deacon'; and 'the priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel,' becomes 'the priest or deacon.' The rubric directing the preparation of the elements is, 'Then shall the priest place *so many hosts* [hostias] on the chalice or corporal,' where the English has 'so much bread.' The second clause of the concluding blessing at the Mass is omitted, and, for some reason which it is difficult to explain, there is no mention of anointing after putting on the chrisom at Baptism.

In 1560 another Latin version was published by Walter Haddon, with the authority of the letters patent of Elizabeth. The book was intended to be used in college chapels. It was based upon that of Alane, and shows a strong Catholic tendency. The Calendar is very copious, having the name of a saint for almost every day of the year. The word *Missa* for Mass is replaced by *Coena*, but an explicit direction is given for the reservation of the Sacrament for the communion of the sick, according to the primitive custom of the Christian Church—*the priest at the Supper shall reserve so much of the Sacrament as shall suffice for the sick man: and immediately after the Supper is finished, together with some of those who are present, he shall go to the sick man and first communicate with those* [*i.e.* 'communicate those,' see Edward's First Book] *who stand by the sick man and were present at*

the Supper, and lastly with the infirm man. Here we have a plain direction both for reservation of the Sacrament and for a non-communicating attendance at the Supper by those who afterwards communicate with the sick man. Equally remarkable is the fact that provision is made for a celebration of the Eucharist at funerals. The Collect is the original form of the present second Collect at the end of our Burial Service. The Epistle is 1 Thessalonians iii. 13-18; the Gospel is S. John vi. 37-40, or S. John v. 24-29.

In spite of the discrepancies between this book and the English Prayer Book of 1559, the Latin book is in evident agreement with the Queen's religious sentiments. It met with considerable opposition, and another Latin version much more closely resembling the English was published in 1571.

It is probable that Haddon's version of the Prayer Book was intended not only to be used in college chapels, but also in those parishes in Ireland where the English language was not understood. The Church of Ireland did not use the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. until Easter 1551, when it was introduced in the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin. No effort was made to transfer the book of 1552 to Ireland, where, indeed, very few priests understood English. The Sarum Missal was employed again in Ireland from the death of Edward VI. until August 30, 1559, when the English Litany was sung in Christ Church Cathedral. In January 1560 the Irish Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity authorising the Book of Common Prayer which had been put forth in England. As there was no Irish printing-press yet provided, and few of the people who spoke Irish could read the Irish letters, permission was given to say 'common and open prayer in the Latin tongue,' and there is good proof that Latin was used.

It is said that the New Testament was translated

into Irish by Archbishop Fitz Ralph in the fourteenth century. A translation of it was begun by Nicholas Walsh, Bishop of Waterford (1577-1585), assisted by others, and completed by William O'Donnell, Archbishop of Tuam. It was printed in 1602, with a dedication[1] to James I. The same prelate published the Prayer Book in Irish, 1608-1609. The translation of the Old Testament was commenced by Bishop Bedell, an Englishman. It appeared in 1685. Bedell's sympathy with the Irish language won him the gratitude of the Irish and the contempt of many of his friends. The failure of the Reformation in Ireland, and the consequent strength of Roman Catholicism in those countries to which the Irish have migrated, are largely due to the neglect of this rich and beautiful language by the clergy. In 1834, when multitudes of Irishmen conversed almost entirely in Irish, Archbishop Trench of Tuam affirmed that, with the exception of his own brother, he had not one clergyman in his diocese proficient in Irish.

The Bible was translated into Welsh in 1588 by William Morgan, Bishop of S. Asaph, and others. A previous translation of the New Testament by Salesbury appeared in 1567, and a translation of the Prayer Book in the same year by the same author.

§ 2. *The Development of the Seventeenth Century.*

James I. having lived among Presbyterians in Scotland, the English Puritans made the mistake of

[1] If the date is correct, it must have been issued on the first day of his reign, March 24 (Old Style). The next day was 1603. The preface says that Elizabeth had provided Irish characters for the press in the hope that God would raise up some one to translate the New Testament. The title is 'Tiomna Nuadh ar Dtighearna agus ar Slanajghtheora Josa Criosd, air na tarruing . . . as Greigis gu gaoidheilg re Huilliam o Domhnuill.' It was reprinted in 1681.

supposing that he would be favourable to their interests. But the general state of piety in Scotland was better calculated to prejudice a shrewd observer against the established religion than in its favour, and James disliked Presbyterianism heartily. Moreover, educated opinion in the Church of England was beginning to crystallise. A school was growing which saw that the English Reformation had a genius of its own and implied a continuity with the period before the Reformation. The Puritans wished to destroy this continuity. The Jesuits and the Roman priests who came over to England from the seminary at Douai were at one with the Puritans in their endeavour to blacken the character of the English Church. The Puritan party said that it was saturated with Popery; the Roman party said that it was not Popish enough. Both agreed that it was to be destroyed if possible. It is also worth noticing that the Jesuits, in their endeavour to be as Roman as possible, not only quarrelled with some of the old English Roman Catholics, but also joined with the seminarists in endeavouring to supplant the Sarum Service Books with new Roman books.[1] The result of this double opposition was that the Church of England began to consolidate itself, and there was little chance of any surrender to either Protestant or Romanist.[2]

In order to appreciate fully the aims of the Puritans, we must not only remember that determined opposition to the comely ceremonies of the Church and to the primitive doctrine of the Sacraments which we have

[1] The reformed Roman Missal was introduced into England in 1577; the Roman Ritual for occasional Offices in 1615.

[2] The nature of the Roman and Puritan alliance against the Church of England was as well recognised in the seventeenth century as it is now. Archbishop Bramhall, replying to a Romanist, says that the Presbyterians, Brownists, and Independents 'have done you more service in England than ever you could have done for yourselves.'—*Works*, Tome 1, Discourse i.

already noticed, but remember their absolute denial that God offers salvation to all men through Christ, their denial of the existence of any Catholic Church except an invisible Church composed of the 'elect,' and their tyrannical narrowness. Puritans were not all cast in the same mould, for there were some whose faith was simple and robust, as well as others who were cunning and ferocious. But it is impossible to palliate the fact that Cartwright, the apostle of English Puritanism, asserted that 'false teachers' ought to be killed according to the law of Deuteronomy xiii.—adding 'if this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost.'

The demands of the Puritans of the time of James I. were comparatively moderate, but no one who understands their system can believe that Puritanism would have remained contented with anything short of absolute predominance. The earliest measure adopted by them was to present to the King in April 1603 the famous *Millenary Petition*, so called from the great number of signatures attached to it. The Puritan demands, as stated in this petition, or as subsequently modified, were as follows:—

1. That the cross in Baptism and kneeling at Holy Communion should be dispensed with.

2. That private persons, men or women, should not be allowed to baptize.

3. That Confirmation should be abolished or altered into a mere blessing by the bishop or 'every ordinary pastor.'

4. That the ring in marriage, bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the reading of the Apocrypha in church should be abolished.[1]

5. That the term 'priest' should be abolished. The forms of absolution were also disliked.

[1] Many of the Bibles of this period now in the British Museum have the Apocrypha torn out by Puritan owners.

6. That the wearing of the surplice and cap should not be compulsory.

7. That the clergy should preach at least once every Sunday.

The Puritans were also much dissatisfied with the Thirty-nine Articles as not sanctioning Calvinism; and they desired to limit the jurisdiction of the bishop, so as to approach the Presbyterian model of Church government.

James granted a conference, which met at *Hampton Court* in January 1604. The most important Puritans were Dr. Rainolds and Dr. Sparkes. The Church was represented by Archbishop Whitgift; Bishop Bancroft, a staunch upholder of Episcopacy; Deans Andrewes and Overall, both of them pillars of Catholic theology, with others.

It was a foregone conclusion that the Church could not gratify its Roman Catholic and Puritan pponents by changing itself into a decorated form of Presbyterianism. And the frivolity of some of the objections made by the Puritans caused the bishops in their 'by-talk' to recall the saying of Master Butler of Cambridge, 'A Puritan is a Protestant frayed out of his wits.' But the bishops made a few concessions which involved no desertion of principle. Thus, a new lesson was appointed for August 26, instead of the story of 'Bel and the Dragon.' Into the title of the Absolution were inserted the words '*or Remission* of Sins.' The title of the Confirmation Service was expanded so as to explain the meaning of the service. Baptism by the laity was discouraged by altering the rubrics of the Office for Private Baptism, and in this way greater security was made for the correct administration of the rite. Thanksgivings for rain, fair weather, etc., were also added, and a prayer for the Royal Family was placed after the prayer for the King.

A far more important result of the *Hampton Court Conference* was the addition to the Catechism of the portion on the Sacraments. This portion appears to have been written by Overall. It strongly asserts the Catholic doctrine of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Wheatly appeals to the Catechism as teaching a belief in the Real Presence, and this belief is testified by the scrupulously careful distinction made therein. Baptism is described as comprising two things: the outward sign and the inward grace. The Lord's Supper is described as comprising three things: the outward sign, *the inward part*, and 'the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby.' The inward part is defined as 'the Body and Blood of Christ.'

Lastly, the *Hampton Court Conference* resulted in the issue of a royal decree for an authorised translation of the Bible. This was proposed by Rainolds. The King was enough of a scholar to be charmed with the idea, and all preliminaries were set on foot by July 22, 1604. Why Rainolds made the proposal is a mystery. In 1557 a Puritan translation of the New Testament by Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, was published at Geneva. And in 1560 appeared the famous *Genevan Bible*,[1] with which the Calvinists had every reason to be satisfied. It was terse, scholarly, and convenient. The notes were Calvinistic, and after 1579 it was bound up with a strongly Calvinistic Catechism. One hundred and sixty editions of it were published between 1560 and the Civil Wars, and the book was the very fountain-head of English Protestantism. A rival Anglican translation, *The Bishops' Bible*, appeared in 1568. The work was uneven, and the book was cumbersome. Moreover, the notes were sometimes tainted with Genevan theology, and the illustrations tainted with pagan morality. The book

[1] This is otherwise known as the *Breeches Bible*, because in Genesis iii. 7 it has 'breeches' instead of 'aprons.'

was a comparative failure, though its translation of the New Testament was afterwards emended. Next came the clever version of the English Romanists, which was mainly the work of Gregory Martin, formerly a scholar of S. John's College, Oxford. It is an able work, but the style shows a too slavish adherence to the Latin. The New Testament was published at Rheims in 1582, in which year Martin died, and the Old Testament was published at Douai by Dr. Worthington in 1609. It has since been revised, and remains the ordinary Bible of English-speaking Romanists. It was carefully studied by the writers of the incomparable *Authorised Version*, which appeared in 1611.

Before the close of the reign of James I. the position of the Church of England began to be appreciated and admired. The serene and holy life of Bishop Andrewes, his learning, his courtesy, his intelligent devotion to Catholic truth and worship, gave to the Church a new attraction and a new ascendency.

The reign of Charles I. was marked by the propagation of those principles which Overall and Andrewes had maintained. The movement was headed by the King himself and Archbishop Laud, a man who was a munificent patron of learning and devotedly attached to the Church of England, although less generous in his methods than wise in his doctrines. He assisted some Scottish bishops in bringing into Scotland, in 1637, a liturgy approximating to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. The book met with furious and irrational opposition. It was of course denounced as 'Popish,' a fact which will not weigh much with any modern reader who is aware that the Scottish Presbyterians had previously denounced university degrees as 'Popish.' Laud failed and died. If he had chosen to purchase his life by the sacrifice of his conscience, it would have been the Church of England that would

have failed. But the Church survived because Laud's religious principles triumphed. In spite of his faults, he had made it practically impossible for any clergyman of the English Church to teach that God has eternally appointed the reprobation and damnation of the majority of mankind, and 'doth not only appoint the ends, but the means, tending to the same.'[1]

Parliament in 1645 forbade the use of the Prayer Book in any church in England or Wales, and supplanted it by a work called *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms*. Another ordinance of Parliament prohibited the use of the Prayer Book even in private, and severe fines were imposed on its use. The churches were violated by unseemly acts of vandalism, and respectable clergymen were ejected from their benefices by thousands. The English Puritans purchased the military assistance of the Scottish Presbyterians by abolishing Episcopacy, and for fifteen years the Church was deprived of all legal rights, and Presbyterianism reigned in its stead.

When Charles II. was recalled in 1660, it was only natural that the Prayer Book should be restored. Puritanism was very unpopular, and the nation had very little sympathy with a religion which prohibited the observance of Christmas Day, and would not permit a prayer to be said by the graveside of the departed. Nevertheless the Presbyterian ministers assured the King that the revival of the Prayer Book would give great offence. Seeing that its revival was a certainty, they petitioned that it might be revised. Their request was granted, and on April 15, 1661, a conference, composed of twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterian divines, met at the Bishop of London's lodgings in *The Savoy Hospital* in the Strand. The Anglicans most remembered by posterity were John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Pearson, who was one of the

[1] From the note in the Genevan Bible on Deuteronomy ii.

coadjutors of the bishops; while the most famous of the Puritans were Edmund Calamy, and Richard Baxter, a good man who committed the strategical blunder of telling his colleagues that they were bound to ask for everything that they thought desirable.

They certainly asked for a great deal, for the list of their objections to the Prayer Book is enormous. A few of their proposals were perfectly reasonable, such as their wish for a direction that the celebrant should 'break' the bread, and their proposed alteration of the two obsolete English phrases of the Marriage Service, 'with my body I thee worship,' and 'till death us depart.' And much might be said for their dislike to the indiscriminate use of the words 'in sure and certain hope of resurrection' in the Burial Service, and their plea for an enlargement of the minister's authority to repel intending communicants. We can only smile at the perverted sacerdotalism of their suggestion that the congregation should take no outward share in public psalms and prayers beyond saying *Amen*, or at the folly of desiring that the Litany should be transformed into one long prayer by the minister. But we must admit that they fastened with unerring accuracy upon all the distinctively Catholic features in the Prayer Book. They not only brought forward the musty objections to the ring and the surplice and the sign of the cross, but also protested against the whole sacramental system of the Church. They did not wish all the baptized to be called regenerate, and wanted the Catechism to be so altered as to imply that there was no visible Catholic Church into which the baptized were admitted. They protested that the laying on of hands in Confirmation by a bishop must not be grounded upon the custom of the apostles, and that the rite of Confirmation seemed to imply that Confirmation is a Sacrament. They disliked the sacramental character attributed to marriage

in the words which assert that Christ 'consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery.' They wished the absolution in the *Visitation of the Sick* to be altered. They assailed the Catholic doctrine of the Communion of Saints by objecting to the observance of saints' days, and by requesting that a rubric should be inserted in the Burial Service to the effect that the prayers are not for the benefit of the dead, but only of the living. Finally, they desired the notorious Black Rubric of 1552 to be inserted again, and the Ornaments Rubric of 1559 to be omitted.

The bishops, however, were resolute, and the Conference came to an end in July 1661. In the autumn of that year was formed a committee of the Upper House of Convocation for revising the Prayer Book. It used to meet at Ely House, and consisted of eight bishops. The most eminent in liturgical studies were Wren (Ely), Sanderson (Lincoln), and Cosin (Durham). We owe much to their delicate improvements in the language of the Prayer Book, and to Cosin in particular we are probably indebted for the fine collects for Easter Even, the third Sunday in Advent and the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany. Their work was soon completed because they had foreseen it, and Convocation showed no desire to make innovations in a Puritan direction.

Many of the changes were merely matters of convenience. Such, for instance, was the use of the Authorised Version of 1611 in all parts of the Prayer Book where familiarity with Cranmer's version had not made change almost impossible. The result is that the Psalter, the Decalogue, and the sentences from Scripture in the Communion Service still remain in their old form, while the Epistles and Gospels are from the Authorised Version. A separate Office was added for the Baptism of Adults, and the Catechism was separated from the Confirmation Service. A new Preface to the Prayer Book was prefixed to the original Preface (1549).

Many of the changes, however, were made with the plain intention of emphasising the Catholic character of the revision :—

1. The doctrine of the priesthood of the clergy was more distinctly marked. The absolution was definitely directed to be pronounced by a priest instead of a minister, and in the Litany the petition for 'bishops, pastors, and ministers' was henceforth to be made for 'bishops, priests, and deacons.' The old form used in the consecration of a bishop, 'Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by imposition of hands,' was altered in such a manner as to make it absolutely clear that a bishop at his consecration is admitted to a grade higher than that of a priest. A similar alteration was made in the words used in the ordination of priests. These changes were made, not because the old forms were invalid, but in order to repudiate openly the Presbyterian theory that a bishop and a priest are essentially the same.

2. The word 'oblations' was introduced into the prayer for the Church militant, apparently in the mediæval sense of money-offerings for the maintenance of the clergy; it was expressly directed that the celebrant should 'break' the bread;[1] and that the remainder of the Sacrament should be covered with a fair linen cloth.

3. The prayer for the Church militant was enriched by a thanksgiving for those who have departed in the faith and fear of God.

4. The Presbyterians, inasmuch as they had until lately ignored the doctrine of any *visible* Catholic Church, had tended to use the word 'congregation' instead of 'Church.' In four places the revisers altered the word 'congregation' into 'Church' to prevent any misconstruction being put upon their words.

[1] It has already been noticed that the Fraction or breaking of the bread was of great importance in all ancient liturgies. The omission of any direction to do this in the earlier editions of the Prayer Book appears to be due to an oversight.

5. In order to prevent the irreverence of Puritanical clergymen who had been guilty of removing the Sacrament to their houses for the purpose of consuming it like ordinary food, a new rubric was added bearing a strong resemblance to a mediæval canon. It directs that 'if any remain of that which was consecrated . . . the priest and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same.' In recent times this rubric has been interpreted as a prohibition of reservation of the Sacrament for the sick, but there appears to be no evidence to show that any such prohibition was intended.

6. It has been supposed that these improvements are balanced by the insertion of the *Black Rubric* at the end of the Communion Service, although the bishops did not originally wish it to be inserted. This rubric, which first appeared in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., appears to have been aimed directly against any doctrine of the Real Presence. It ran thus: 'We do declare that it is not meant thereby [*i.e.* by kneeling] that any adoration is done, or ought to be done . . . unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood.' On its re-introduction in the time of Charles II. it was worded, 'unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood.' This change is peculiarly significant of the spirit of the last revision of our Prayer Book. For the rubric in its original form was intended as a protest against the whole Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. In its present form it is merely a protest against the vulgar superstition that Christ's Body is present in a materialistic fashion. It is plain that the alteration would not have been made if it was not meant to sanction the doctrine that Christ is really and essentially present in the Sacrament.[1]

[1] It has not been sufficiently noticed that the conclusion of the rubric, so far from containing an essentially Protestant doctrine, exactly agrees with S. Thomas Aquinas, *in* iv. *Sent.* Dist. x. q. 1. a. 1. Venetiis 1593, Tom. 7, p. 50 K.

This Prayer Book was adopted by the Church in Convocation on December 20, 1661 ; and the use of it was enforced by an Act of Uniformity which received the royal assent on May 19, 1662.

It should be noticed that Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity (1559) was included in the 'Contents' of the Prayer Book revised and signed by Convocation. Even if it cannot be argued from this fact that the Church gave synodical sanction to the Act, it can be argued that Convocation was ready to accept it. The Act was in no way adverse to any Catholic doctrine or the fit use of Catholic ornaments.

An attempted revision of the Prayer Book was made in 1689, in the reign of William III. The King, being a Dutch Calvinist, desired that an agreement should be made 'between the Church of England and Protestant Dissenters.' A Commission was issued to ten bishops and twenty divines to prepare alterations in the Liturgy and Canons. The proposed alterations were extremely numerous. A few are prudent, such as a petition in the Litany 'by Thy continual intercession at the right hand of God,' and a proposed note to the clause in the Nicene Creed 'Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son'—'It is humbly submitted to the Convocation whether a note ought not here to be added with relation to the Greek Church, in order to our maintaining Catholic communion.' The Collects are stupidly expanded so as to resemble extempore prayers, the word 'priest' is altered to 'minister,' and even the surplice is rendered optional. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is apparently retained, and a 'conditional' re-ordination of Presbyterian ministers is made necessary. They are to be ordained by a bishop without being compelled to deny the validity of their former ordinations. But most of the proposed changes are strangely inconsistent with the idea of 'Catholic communion.'

1. In the Communion Service a second form of consecration is provided, in which the mention of the partaking of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is omitted. Kneeling at Holy Communion is rendered optional.

2. The mention of private absolution is omitted in the first exhortation in the Communion Service.

3. The Confirmation Service is so modified as to suggest that Confirmation does not mean a bestowal of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, but a confirmation by the candidates of what was promised in their name at Baptism, and a prayer for their continuous strengthening by the Holy Ghost.

4. The rule for the daily recitation of Morning and Evening Prayer is relaxed; Holy Communion is ordered to be once a month in large parishes, and at least four times in the year in smaller parishes. It is only fair to add that this proposal with regard to Holy Communion was in harmony with the practice of many devout Anglicans.

The Commission did not venture to lay these alterations before Convocation, and the revision was a fiasco. But it has left behind it a valuable lesson. It proves that the latitudinarian Commission which made the proposals, and the Convocation which was prepared to reject them, were agreed that the Prayer Book is steeped in doctrine which 'Protestant Dissenters' could not conscientiously accept.

CHAPTER VI

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER

We two will stand beside that shrine
Occult, withheld, untrod,
Whose lamps are stirred continually
With prayer sent up to God;
And see our old prayers, granted, melt
Each like a little cloud.

ROSSETTI, *The Blessed Damozel.*

Introductory.

THE whole history of Morning Prayer, otherwise called Mattins, and of Evening Prayer, otherwise called Vespers or Evensong, is one of great difficulty and interest. In no country have these services passed through such a complicated history as in England, and in no country have they kept so strong a hold upon the affections of the people. Not that we can permit ourselves to suppose that the modern English treatment of Mattins is satisfactory. Some devout people never attend the service at all, while a large number attend it every Sunday, and only attend the Eucharist occasionally. This strange perversion of the laws of Christian worship has chiefly been caused by the ignorance and slackness of the parochial clergy, who first postponed Sunday Mattins, which used to be said before the congregation had their breakfast, until after breakfast, and then late in the eighteenth century began the practice of saying Mattins on Sunday at

eleven o'clock. A well-authenticated tradition ascribes the origin of eleven o'clock Sunday Mattins[1] in the parish churches of London to the Rev. James Townley (1714-1778). He held various 'city' preferments; he also wrote farces and was a friend of Garrick. He 'rendered' the service in the style of that eminent tragedian, and postponed Mattins until eleven, in order that his fashionable admirers might have time to drive from what was then the 'west end' of London. The result of choosing this late hour for Mattins has made a subsequent attendance at the Holy Eucharist a great difficulty to many Christian people, and it is a cause of congratulation that an earlier hour has been kept in some parochial and cathedral churches, as well as in the colleges of our universities.

Throughout the Middle Ages, even in the darkest periods, our ancestors generally endeavoured to hallow Sunday by attending Morning and Evening Prayer as well as Holy Mass. The Anglo-Saxons were familiar with 'Uhtsang' and 'Evensang,' and of William the Conqueror it is said by Robert of Gloucester (A.D. 1270)—

> 'for him none day abide
> That he heard not Mass and Mattins and Evensong, and each tide.'

In the fourteenth century Langland represents 'Sloth' as failing to hear 'matynes and masse,' and in 1532 Sir Thomas More complained that many laymen will not rise in time to 'hear out their Mattins' before breakfast. But the practice of attending Mattins was still quite common. The hour of Mattins varied. In some monastic churches Mattins were sung before retiring to bed; in other places they were sung before daybreak, according to the primitive custom. It is

[1] Week-day Mattins were often said in London at eleven as early as 1714, but in many churches earlier hours prevailed.

probable that 6 or 7 A.M. were general hours.[1] In 1547, before the introduction of the reformed services, Holgate, Archbishop of York, directed that Mattins should be sung in York minster at 6 A.M. or 7 A.M. according to the time of year, High Mass throughout the year being at 9 A.M. In the cathedral church of Aberdeen Mattins were sung at 6 A.M. both summer and winter. After the restoration of Charles II. six and seven were the hours kept for Mattins both at Canterbury and Worcester; the Litany, followed by the Communion Service, beginning at 10 A.M.

The earliest hour at which Morning Prayer has been said in England since the Reformation is probably 5 A.M., which was the usual week-day hour for Morning Prayer in London churches during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Until a few years ago the bells of some of the 'city churches' were still rung at this early hour.

The form of Mattins and Evensong now used in the Church of England is a lengthened form of the services which appeared in 1549 in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. The origin of these beautiful services which Cranmer edited cannot be understood without a careful consideration of the history of the forms of daily Christian worship which were not included in the Eucharist. For the sake of convenience we may divide the history of this worship as follows:—

§ 1. *Before the Coming of S. Augustine.*

From the earliest times it appears that the Christians consecrated to prayer, either public or private, (1) the last moments of the night, the time between *cock-crow*

[1] In the house of King Edward IV. Mass was said in the hall at six, at seven Mattins were said in chapel, and a Mas. was sung by children at nine.

and sunrise, and (2) the time of gloaming, when the sun disappeared and the *lamps* in the house were lighted. Here then we see the beginning of Mattins and Evensong. But besides these two hours of prayer, Jewish tradition and the story of the Bible indicated certain other hours. Daniel prayed three times a day, and in the Acts of the Apostles we find the Christians observing three hours of prayer. At nine o'clock the apostles were met together when the Holy Spirit descended upon them; at twelve o'clock Peter goes to pray on the flat roof of the house at Joppa; at three o'clock Peter and John enter the temple to offer prayer. These hours marked the principal divisions of the day in the first century of the Christian era; and at the close of the second century we find these three hours of the day recognised as times of prayer by Clement, the great Christian philosopher of Alexandria, and by Tertullian, the fervid Christian writer of Carthage. It is probable that the five hours of daily prayer which have been mentioned were only observed in private, and were quite voluntary.

The Sunday service stands on a different level. The Jews had a tradition that the Messiah would come at midnight as the destroying angel came at the time when the first Passover was celebrated in Egypt. The early Christians on Easter even remained in prayer until cock-crow on Easter morning, expecting the return of Christ to earth. This primitive observance of Easter even formed a model for the observance of the eve of every Sunday. In the first chapter of this book we noticed how the Christians of the apostolic age met on Saturday night. In theory the Saturday night service was a continuous service lasting all night, and the old Greek name (*παννυχίς*, all-night service) proves this. But as a general rule the Christians devoted to prayer only a period at the beginning of the night when the lamps were lit, and a period at cock-crow. To the

present day the Eastern Christians attach great importance to the service on Saturday night. A recent traveller who gives us an account of the observance of Whitsunday among the West Syrians found the Eucharist celebrated very early in the morning, and nobody was supposed to have the right to be present if he had not attended service the evening before. It was the duty of the monks to spend the whole interval between the two services in prayer.[1]

At an early date the service of cock-crow was observed on other holy days besides Sundays. The Canons of Hippolytus show us that about A.D. 230 the Alexandrian, and, perhaps, the Roman Christians were wont to meet together for this service on certain days. The clergy were obliged to come; the laity were encouraged to come. The service consisted of (i) psalms, (ii) the reading of Scriptures, (iii) prayers.

In the fourth century there came a great change in public worship. A desire to escape from the worldly influences which had begun to effect an entrance into the Church caused great numbers of earnest men and women to adopt the monastic life, and monasteries spread rapidly from Egypt to Italy and Gaul and other countries. Moreover, the Church was now protected by the State, and magnificent buildings dedicated to Christian worship rose on every side. Many of the religious communities began to meet in their great churches and recite their prayers every day in public. The number of services varied in different districts. In Egypt, even in the fifth century, the monks still recited nothing but the primitive services of the hours of cock-crow and lamp-lighting. In Spain the poet Prudentius wrote hymns for cock-crow, dawn, evening, and the time for retiring to bed, as well as hymns before and after meat. These hymns, however, were

[1] Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, p. 119.

and sunrise, and (2) the time of gloaming, when the sun disappeared and the *lamps* in the house were lighted. Here then we see the beginning of Mattins and Evensong. But besides these two hours of prayer, Jewish tradition and the story of the Bible indicated certain other hours. Daniel prayed three times a day, and in the Acts of the Apostles we find the Christians observing three hours of prayer. At nine o'clock the apostles were met together when the Holy Spirit descended upon them; at twelve o'clock Peter goes to pray on the flat roof of the house at Joppa; at three o'clock Peter and John enter the temple to offer prayer. These hours marked the principal divisions of the day in the first century of the Christian era; and at the close of the second century we find these three hours of the day recognised as times of prayer by Clement, the great Christian philosopher of Alexandria, and by Tertullian, the fervid Christian writer of Carthage. It is probable that the five hours of daily prayer which have been mentioned were only observed in private, and were quite voluntary.

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at all the hymns and antiphons. And now when it has begun to grow light, then all begin to say morning hymns [*matutinos ymnos*]. And, behold, the bishop arrives with the clergy, and immediately proceeds within the cave, and from within the rails first says a prayer for all; he also himself commemorates the names of those whom he wills; so he blesses the catechumens. Again he says a prayer, and blesses the faithful. And after this, as the bishop goes forth from within the rails, all approach his hand; and he blesses them one by one as he now goes out, and thus the dismissal [*missa*] takes place, it being now daylight.'

Such were the daily Nocturnal Office and Lauds at Jerusalem about A.D. 385, and services of a similar type were held at the sixth and ninth hours, and also at the tenth hour, when the church was brilliantly illuminated. But on Sunday morning, some time before cock-crow, the Nocturnal Office was preceded by the ancient observance of the Sunday Vigil (*vigiliae*, otherwise called *excubiae*). Three Psalms were said, each followed by a prayer. Then follow three prayers, censers are brought in and the church is filled with perfume; the bishop then reads a lesson on the Resurrection from the Gospel. After a psalm and a prayer at the cross, the bishop blesses the people and retires. The laity also retire, but a few remain with the monks and sing the Nocturnal Office.

The distinction between the two services is plain. The antique Vigil service is regarded as more or less binding on all Christian people, the Nocturnal Office and the other services are chiefly services for the monks. *The Nocturnal Office began at cock-crow, and was distinct from the Vigil.* This distinction was, however, by no means universal. *At Rome the Nocturnal Office began at cock-crow, and was the Vigil.* We saw that this was the case in the days of Hippolytus; and it

was the case nearly two hundred years later in the time of S. Jerome, when the churches were so crowded at the Sunday vigils that the saint advises a lady to see that her daughter does not move an inch from her mother's side. The musical attraction of the service cannot have been very great, for Rome had not followed the example of Milan in adopting the fashionable Greek chants for which the choir and the congregation were divided into two parts, which sang alternate verses 'antiphonally.' No, the Roman Church still kept the primitive fashion. The Psalms were sung in solo by the deacons with the simplest inflexions. It seems that the soloist sang each verse, and that the choir repeated a short response after each two verses. Hence the Psalms were called *Responsory Psalms.*

We must conclude our notice of the services of the fourth century by saying that there was still a sharp distinction between the frequent services of the monastic churches and the few services of the ordinary churches. This distinction existed in the sixth century and until after the death of S. Augustine. In 529 the Emperor Justinian directed that the clergy in each church should sing Vespers, Nocturns, and Lauds. Such was the custom in the East, and in Gaul and Spain it was very similar. The Council of Agde in Gaul in 506 ordains that there shall be 'just as everywhere else' an Office chanted every day in the morning and another in the evening. The fourth Council of Toledo in Spain in 633 ordains that there shall be one order of singing 'in the evening and morning Offices.'

If we now turn to Rome in the time of S. Augustine, we shall not discover any fundamental changes, but we shall find some notable additions adopted, or on the eve of being adopted. The Vigil service at Rome, instead of being said only on Sundays and festivals, was said on 'private' days also. This was established at the end of the fifth century, and was imitated from

the churches of the East. Every day the clergy of Rome met in church at cock-crow, and continued saying their first service until sunrise. The Sunday service was longer than the week-day service, and included nine lessons with various antiphons[1] and *responsorii*. The latter word probably means responds, pieces of music sung as a solo and then repeated. On week-days, at the time of year when the nights were shortest, there were only three lessons, three responds, and three antiphons. Another service was sung at sunrise. Vespers apparently did not exist in the parish churches; there was only the Nocturnal Office or Vigil, followed by Lauds. About the time of Augustine the old Roman chanting had given way to the Greek fashion, and the principal part of the service was sung by children. S. Gregory himself regarded the chanting of the Psalms and reading of the lessons as the duty of the sub-deacons. Yet he may have thought the Saxon boys, whom he saw in the Roman market-place, fit to be 'readers' and singers, the voices of boys being valued on account of the comparative ease with which they were heard in the huge basilicas. It is interesting to notice that the introduction of the Greek fashion of chanting the Psalms was at first regarded in the West as an insidious innovation, or 'the thin end of the wedge.'

[1] Antiphons (hence the English 'anthem') must not be confused with antiphonal singing. The latter is simply the method of singing alternate verses of a psalm by two different choirs. An antiphon is a psalm with a refrain interpolated in it, or simply the refrain sung before and after each psalm. Originally it was sung more often, sometimes after each verse. It was intended both to give the leading sense of the psalm and the musical key in which it was to be sung. 'It struck, in fact, the keynote of the psalm both devotionally and musically.' On festivals the antiphons usually had reference to the festival. The only antiphon in the Book of Common Prayer after a complete psalm is 'O Saviour of the world,' after Psalm lxxi. in the Visitation of the Sick.

§ 2. *From S. Augustine to the Reformation.*

In less than a hundred years after the coming of S. Augustine the great church of S. Peter at Rome was developing a system of daily worship which for grave magnificence and completeness of effect was to surpass all earlier and many later forms of worship. In A.D. 680 Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth and teacher of the Venerable Bede, brought to England for the instruction of our forefathers 'the venerable John, chief chanter of the church of the Apostle S. Peter,' abbot of one of four monasteries which clustered round that famed basilica and furnished it with its noble choir of voices. The services were not quite fixed, for John taught by word of mouth and not from books, but in the eighth century the Office of S. Peter's was written with care and welcomed in country after country. The Roman order and the Roman chant and the Roman corporation known as as the Song School, or *Schola Cantorum*, were then supreme, and began to become the rule for Western Christendom.

The following table shows the Roman Office of the eighth century:

A. NIGHT SERVICES, . .	Vespers at sunset. Nocturnal Office at cock-crow.
B. SERVICE AT SUNRISE, .	Lauds.
C. DAY SERVICES, . . .	Terce at 9 A.M. Sext at 12. None at 3 P.M.

In addition to these public services there were two private services: Compline said in the dormitory before going to bed; Prime also said in the dormitory when the monks rose from their second rest to which they retired after Lauds. Compline was extremely simple. It began, as no other Office did, with a short lesson. Then came four invariable Psalms, the *Nunc dimittis*, and a prayer. That was all. Prime resembled Terce, but had a special ending.

The following table gives an analysis of the services :—

a. NOCTURNAL OFFICE,
- 'O Lord, open Thou my lips,' etc.
- *Venite.*
- Nocturns (one or three):
  - Psalms.
  - Our Father.
  - Lessons, a Respond being sung after each.

There was ordinarily one Nocturn with twelve Psalms and three Lessons, but on Sundays there were three Nocturns, containing altogether eighteen Psalms and nine Lessons.

b. LAUDS AND VESPERS,
- 'O God, make speed,' etc.
- Five Psalms with Antiphons.
- Short Lesson.
- Gospel Canticle with Antiphon.
- Lord, have mercy.
- Our Father.
- *Preces.*

c. TERCE, SEXT, AND NONE,
- 'O God, make speed,' etc.
- Three Psalms.
- Short Lesson.
- Lord, have mercy.
- Our Father.
- *Preces.*[1]

In reviewing these Old Roman services, we must notice that they include :—

(i) A recitation of the whole Psalter every week.

(ii) A regular system of Lessons. From December 1 to Epiphany, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel were read; from Epiphany to February 13, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, and Job; in the spring until Holy Week, the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges; from Easter to Pentecost, the Catholic Epistles, Acts, and Revelation; in the summer, Kings, Samuel, and Chronicles; in the autumn, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith, Maccabees, Tobit.

(iii) The Respond, or Responsorium, a chant which related to the part of Scripture which was in course of

[1] See note on p. 164.

reading. The precentor sang it as a solo, the choir repeated it. The precentor then sang one, two, or three verses, and the choir responded to each. The precentor next sang the Doxology, the choir then repeated the latter part of the Responsorium; then the precentor sang it entire, and the choir repeated it entire. Many of these ancient Responds were masterpieces of beauty.[1]

Gradually the divine service passed through a transformation.

The first great change came with the introduction of services for saints' days. About 750 the Office of the Saints was added as an appendage to the daily Office recited in the churches of Rome. Then the services were combined. Feast-days were divided into two classes, 'lesser' and 'greater.' On 'lesser' festivals very little change was made in the ordinary 'ferial' Office except the introduction of proper lessons for the saint. At Vespers on 'greater' feasts, Sunday psalms and new antiphons were introduced. At first the ordinary Nocturn was still sung before the Nocturns of the saint's day. Then the ferial Nocturn usually disappeared; but until the thirteenth century the Roman Church still retained a double Office for a few great saints. The phrase 'double Office' or 'double greater Office' still survived for the service of high festivals. Then, the meaning of the word having been totally forgotten, the ritualists invented the ridiculous term 'semi-double' for certain Offices, and divided the double Offices into four classes. In the Sarum rite the word semi-double is not used, but four classes of doubles are found. The result of these services for

[1] The Responsorium with its verse must be carefully distinguished from the brief 'versicle,' followed by a 'response,' such as we find sung at or after an Office. The Gradual Psalm sung at the Mass after the Epistle is called a Responsorium, though its structure differs from tha of the Responds chanted at the Hours.

saints' days was to destroy the orderly recitation of the Lessons and Psalter. The more numerous the festivals became, the more the services were confused and spoilt.

The second great change was the introduction of the *Breviary*, the abbreviated and portable Service Book to which our English forefathers gave the appropriate Anglo-French name of Porthors or Portos (from *porter* and *dehors*). This contained what Pope Gregory IX. in 1241 calls the 'modern Office.' It was the Old Roman Office modified and abbreviated by the Churches north of the Alps, then introduced into Rome, and accepted by the Pope and his court for their private use when travelling. The Franciscan friars adopted this for their own use, and about 1250 the Franciscan revision was adopted at Rome and made its way through the West of Europe. The 'Gallican' version of the Psalms, the second version made by S. Jerome, replaced the first version made by S. Jerome,[1] and the Psalms were now arranged in an order different from the order in the Bible. The Lord's Prayer, and then the Hail Mary, were placed at the beginning of each service; after Compline anthems were introduced in honour of S. Mary; lessons from apocryphal romances were multiplied; 'memorials' of the saints, with their collects, were added to the *Bless we the Lord* at the end of some of the Hours. To make up for the ruthless abbreviation of the antique responds and anthems, there is now a collection of metrical hymns, such as were first used by the Benedictines in their daily Offices. This is the most important characteristic of the 'modern Office,' and is a proof of the passionate love of Northern Europe for popular music. It is here that the Wesleys were at one with the Franciscans, and the English Reformers were, on the contrary, at one with Gregory the Great.

[1] In Rome itself the first version was used until the fifteenth century.

The late mediæval Breviary, Porthors, or Portiforium, consisted of four parts:—

1. KALENDARIUM. The Kalendar, often with the addition of a guide to find the moveable feasts in a given year.

2. PSALTERIUM and COMMUNE SANCTORUM. This contains the non-variable part of the services for Sundays and week-days, *i.e.* the Psalms divided into two unequal parts for the services of Mattins and Evensong for a week (with their anthems, etc.), and the fixed Psalms for the other Hours. The Penitential Psalms and Litany were printed next. The *Commune Sanctorum* is the *common* form for use on those feasts of one or more Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins which had no peculiar service of their own.

3. TEMPORALE, or *Proprium de Tempore.* This contains the variable parts of the choir services, such as hymns, anthems, *capitula*, responds, and collects. Also the Sunday and week-day lessons. In the sixteenth century the rules called the Pie were printed with the *Temporale.*

4. PROPRIUM SANCTORUM, or *Sanctorale.* This contains the *proper* forms for each particular saint's day in the course of the year, anthems, hymns, lessons, *capitula*, responds, collects, etc.

The Breviary services may be thus tabulated for conveniently comparing them with the Old Roman daily services. The actual books place Mattins first and Compline last.

A. NIGHT SERVICES, ...	Vespers. Compline. Mattins, containing one or three Nocturns.
B. SERVICE AT SUNRISE (nominally) .	Lauds.
C. DAY SERVICES, ...	Prime. *The Little Hours.* — Terce. Sext. None.

The following table gives an analysis of the services:

- *a.* MATTINS,[1] . . . . .
  - Introductory.
    - Sentences.
    - *Venite.*
    - Hymn.
  - Nocturns (one or three).
    - Psalms.
    - Our Father and Creed.[2]
    - Lessons and Responds.
  - Conclusion on Festivals. — *Te Deum.*
- *b.* LAUDS, VESPERS, AND COMPLINE, ...
  - Introductory. — Sentences.
  - Essential.
    - Psalms.
    - Little Chapter.
    - Hymn.
    - Gospel Canticle
    - Prayers.
- *c.* PRIME, TERCE, SEXT, AND NONE, ...
  - Introductory. — Sentences.
  - Essential.
    - Hymn.
    - Psalms.
    - At Prime *The Athanasian Creed.*
    - Little Chapter.
    - Prayers.

At the end of the Middle Ages, immediately before the Reformation, these Breviary services were in a state of almost inextricable confusion. The chief defects, in addition to the retention of a dead language and the repetition of the services at inappropriate hours, were as follows:—

(*a*) The Scriptural element in the services was seriously diminished. In the first place, the lessons from the Bible at Mattins had been greatly shortened since the Anglo-Saxon period. In the second place,

[1] The word Mattins was originally a name of Lauds. In the later Middle Ages it was incorrectly applied to the Nocturnal Office and Lauds combined, or even to the Nocturnal Office only. The habit of postponing the Nocturnal Office until 6 or 7 A.M. made the change of name seem appropriate.

[2] The use of the Ave and Creed here varies in different books.

the weekly recitation of the whole Psalter had become a pretence, as it was interrupted by numerous holy days with proper psalms.

(*b*) Legendary chapters were inserted, very unlike the substantial and wholesome readings from S. Leo, S. Gregory, and S. Ambrose, which had been read in the Old Roman services. The absurdity of these legends was sometimes so great that we find mediæval breviaries containing contemptuous notes written in the margins, such as 'an old wives' fable,' 'a stupid and ridiculous service.' 'To lie like a second nocturn' became a proverb, and the veracity of the other nocturns was by no means beyond suspicion.

(*c*) The services had become a burden too heavy to be borne, for they left almost no time for private study or devotion, or attention to the practical duties of clerical life. This was not so much the fault of the Breviary services as the result of the fact that two or even three services or 'Offices' were said instead of one. After each particular service or 'hour,' it was usual to say or sing the 'Little Office of the Blessed Virgin.' This was again followed by the 'Office of the Dead'; and on ordinary days an additional service was added, consisting of the seven Penitential Psalms and the fifteen Gradual Psalms. The result was gross irreverence or total neglect. Councils vie with one another in deploring the manner in which the Divine Office is recited. In some cathedral churches the canons appear to have entered the choir attended by their chaplains at the beginning of the Offices, bowed, and then left the church. In 1330 the men who sat in the higher stalls in Exeter choir beguiled the time by pouring hot wax on those who sat below them, and in the fifteenth century some of the clergy at Lincoln used to come in and out for such fragments of worship as they were pleased to attend.

(*d*) The variations in the services, required for the

varying degrees in the importance of particular holy days, made it very difficult for the clergy to 'find their places' in the somewhat clumsy books of the period. Some guidance was afforded by the *Ordinale*, or Directory of Priests, which showed the priest what festivals he ought to observe and the proper Offices required throughout the year. This book was known in England by the familiar title of *The Pie* (in Latin 'Pica'). The name means 'magpie,' and was probably due to the parti-coloured appearance of the tables in it, the thick black-letter type on white paper resembling the hues of that bird. English printers still retain the word *pica* to signify a particular type, and the word *pie* to denote a mixture of types.[1] The introduction in our Prayer Book *Concerning the Service of the Church* says: 'The number and hardness of the rules called the *Pie*, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.' In England, however, considerable assistance was afforded by the writings of Clement Maydestone, a priest of the fifteenth century, who drew up a convenient and popular *Directorium Sacerdotum*.

What the old *Ordinale* had done for *one* ideal year, this 'Guide' of Clement Maydestone applied to all the working almanacs of his day. Thirty-five varieties were provided so as to serve for every possible contingency. Maydestone, author of the *Directorium Sacerdotum*, or 'Guide of Priests,' was born about 1390 at Isleworth. Trained at Winchester College, he was familiar with the Sarum ritual from his childhood, and his book was so successful that at the end

[1] It seems possible, however, that the word Pica is only a mock translation of Pie, and that the confused mixture of black and white with red initials suggested the name Pie.

of the fifteenth century his *Directorium* had superseded all such books. About 1501 the shorter Ordinal, or *Pica Sarum*, was cut up and incorporated into the text of all editions of the Sarum Breviary. It is probable that Maydestone is author not only of the *Directorium Sacerdotum*, but also of the *Defensorium Directorii Sacerdotum*. In this 'Defence' it is stoutly and rightly maintained that it is a violation of the Sarum rubrics to follow the debased practice of that day, which was to read the Bible not continuously but in broken fragments. For instance, if it was Advent and the book of Isaiah was being read, omissions would be made for the sake of holy days with their proper lessons, and the reading of Isaiah was not resumed at the place where the previous reading ended.

The criticism passed by Wyclif upon the Ordinal of Sarum is interesting, though somewhat violent. Writing about 1370 he says it 'hinders much preaching of the Gospel; for fools consider it more important than the commandments of God and to study and teach Christ's Gospel' He blesses God that the Mass Books witness His Gospel, but complains of the blindness of the priests who say that a priest may be excused from saying of Mass, the substance of which God Himself commanded, and not excused from saying Mattins and Evensong. The recitation of these and the other Hours made them 'weary and indisposed to study God's law for aching of heads.' He specially alleges as a reason for the decay of worship the introduction of the elaborate music which was corrupting the ancient plainsong, rendering it more fit for dancing than mourning, and winning the praises of the lewd for 'Sir Jack or Hob and William the proud clerk.' This light music had been introduced even into the Benedictine monasteries of England when Erasmus complained of it in 1512. To the words of Wyclif we may appropriately add the words of one of the most

eminent of Roman Catholic liturgical writers of the present day: 'How far have we got from the broad and harmonious simplicity of the Roman Office of the eighth century! . . . the lectionary is become scanty and corrupt . . . it is difficult not to see in these additions, these numerous and burdensome services of adventitious prayer, a grave wrong done to the canonical Office itself. . . . The feasts of the *Sanctorale* have been so multiplied as to make the Office of the Season practically a thing condemned to desuetude.'[1]

§ 3. *The Reformation.*

The need for a reformation of the daily services was urgent, and the start was made at Rome. Pope Clement VII. in 1523 gave his approval to a new hymnal by Ferreri, Bishop of Guardia Alfiera, who had been directed by Pope Leo X. to prepare a Breviary 'much shorter and made more convenient and purged from all mistakes.' Ferreri died before he had more than written his graceful hymns in the style of Horace, and Clement VII. entrusted the work of reforming the Breviary to a grave and learned Spaniard, Francis, Cardinal Quiñones.[2] The Cardinal began his work in 1529, and was assisted by several other learned Spaniards. His revised Roman Breviary appeared in 1535, with the sanction of Pope Paul III. It certainly was not wanting in boldness. The preface asserts that in the existing practice the books of Scripture are almost entirely omitted, that the stories of the saints have neither authority nor seriousness, and that whereas it had been intended that the Psalms should be recited once a week, only a few are said over and over again. In the reformed Breviary itself the versicles and

[1] Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, p. 225.

[2] The name is also written in two French forms, Quignon and Quignonez.

responses are omitted, the lessons are replaced by longer Scriptural lessons, and three psalms are appointed for each canonical hour, so that the entire Psalter is recited every week. Only a few hymns are retained. The lessons are three in number every day, the first being from the Old Testament, the second from the New Testament, and the third from the New Testament, or from the history of a saint, if the day is a saint's day. In the first edition all antiphons were suppressed, but in the second edition some were reintroduced. In spite of the boldness of the new book, and in spite of the fact that Quiñones was so uncritical as to allow the insertion of some thoroughly apocryphal tales of the saints, the book met a want and won a great success. It was so easy and attractive that it was immediately adopted and circulated by the Jesuits, and in Spain was used in the choirs of several cathedrals.[1] Its popularity was further attested in 1542 by the issue of a *Diurnale* which contained the Day Hours of Quiñones without the Mattins, and so provided a book for priests who went out for the day.

But even the Jesuits did not ensure the permanence of the revised Breviary. With the revival of religion at Rome and a growing distrust of novelty, there came a strong reaction in favour of the mediæval Roman Breviary, and in 1558 Pope Paul IV. decreed that no more licenses for priests to use the Breviary of Quiñones were to be issued. In spite of this decree, we know that four editions appeared in 1566. However, the mediæval Breviary was corrected in less than five years, and appeared in its new dress in 1568, and though it has undergone several sub-

[1] The need of reform is shown by the fact that there were numerous reformed Breviaries besides that of Quiñones, such as the Breviaries of Soissons, Orleans, Saragossa, and Taragona. The Breviary of the Humiliati of Milan contained the rule that the Psalms were to be recited once a month (as in the Book of Common Prayer), and this was approved by Pope Paul III. and printed in 1548.

sequent revisions it remains the Breviary of modern Roman Catholicism. The services are now reduced to reasonable limits by the permission to omit the Office of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead, the lessons are improved, and the rubrics are clear and good. But it is far from perfect; the hymns have been retouched in the taste of an epoch which valued gilded stucco, there are still fifty forged sermons and homilies, and the weekly recitation of the Psalter is still interrupted by the frequent use of special psalms.[1]

Expelled from Spain, the Breviary which the Jesuit missionaries carried to India has left a great and lasting influence in England. In 1542 Convocation directed that the Sarum Office should be generally adopted through the province of Canterbury, and it was ordered that the old books should be called in and corrected. It is certain that in the next year Cranmer desired a reform on the lines of Quiñones, and it is more than probable that the revised Breviary was known in England. In a catalogue of the library of Henry VIII. made in 1542, the only Breviaries mentioned are Roman Breviaries. It is hardly conceivable that immediately after the breach with Rome a Roman Breviary would have been introduced into the royal chapel, unless it had been of a reformed character. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the Breviary of Quiñones was actually used in England. In any case, Cranmer's first scheme for a new Breviary for the Church of England is clearly derived from Quiñones, with certain enrichments from the use of Sarum.

It would probably have been wiser if Cranmer had remained content with publishing an English translation of this proposed Latin Breviary. But he quickly

[1] Great confusion still exists as to the hours for the public recital of divine service. It is easy to find Continental churches where Compline and Mattins are sung before sunset, and the writer once heard Sunday Vespers sung at eleven in the morning.

made out a second Latin scheme, in which the eight daily services were reduced to two, viz. Mattins and Evensong. Cranmer's own statement shows that this important change was directly caused by the slack manner in which the mediæval Offices were recited. He says, 'It seems a mockery to retain the same divisions of the Hours observed by the ancient fathers when the custom of praying seven times a day has long since ceased, and we now assemble only twice a day for prayers.' The late mediæval practice of reciting one service immediately after another, and the far worse mediæval practice of neglecting to say many or all of the services, probably seemed sufficient reason for insisting upon a certain minimum of public worship, which no priest could reasonably call a burden.[1] Cranmer's new Vespers were drawn entirely from the old Vespers, the daily Mattins contained part of the old service with the *Benedictus* taken from Lauds, and on Sundays the Athanasian Creed taken from Prime. Twenty-six of the old Breviary hymns were retained. Three lessons were to be read; and on Sundays and festivals a fourth lesson, taken from the Fathers or from the life of a saint. The great peculiarity of the service is the omission of the *Venite*. The Psalter was to be said through once a month, and thus one of the most distinctive features of the modern Prayer Book was formed.

These varying projects were, however, to a great extent abandoned by Cranmer in favour of another scheme. The followers of Luther had drawn up forms of Mattins and Vespers based on mediæval German forms, and Cranmer decided upon a service very similar to some of these numerous German forms. To illustrate this similarity, the outlines of two German forms

[1] Cranmer at this time certainly wished that the clergy should continue to recite the other Hours in private. It should be observed that the monks of the Charterhouse only said Mattins and Evensong in public, and recited the other Hours privately.

are here appended. The first was drawn up in 1542 for Calenberg and Göttingen, to be used before Mass; the second in 1542 for the Schönburg dominions, to be used on festivals when Mass was not celebrated.

I[1]	II[2]
Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium, etc.
Invitatorium.	
Venite.	Venite.
Three Psalms with one or three Antiphons.	Three Psalms with one Antiphon.
	Responsorium.
Lesson from the Old or New Testament.	The Gospel.
Te Deum.	Te Deum.
	Creed.
	Sermon.
	Hymn.
Chapter from the New Testament (with Notes called the Summaries).	
Benedictus with an Antiphon.	
Collects.	
Benedicamus.	
Da pacem.	Da pacem.
	Magnificat.
	Collect.
	Benedictus.
	God be merciful unto us, etc.

It should further be noted that the use of the *Nunc dimittis* at Evensong is one of the earliest Lutheran practices. The 'Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae' of A.D. 1526 directs that at Vespers there shall be sung either the *Magnificat* or the *Nunc dimittis*, but on Sundays and festivals first the *Magnificat* and then the *Nunc dimittis*.[3]

[1] A. L. Richter, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. i. p. 363 (Weimar, 1846).

[2] E. Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, Division I. 2nd half, p. 172 (Leipzig, 1904).

[3] Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

The *Nunc dimittis* did not find a place even in the second of Cranmer's projects for a reformed Evensong, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that he took the idea from a German service.

It was only necessary to combine these German services with a systematic division of the Psalms, and a plan of daily lessons similar to that provided by Quiñones.[1] The combination appeared in the Mattins and Evensong of the English Prayer Book which came into use on Whitsunday 1549. The Mattins and Evensong of 1549 began with the Lord's Prayer, 'the priest being in the quire.' The *Benedicite* was to be used in the place of the *Te Deum* all through Lent.[2] The *Benedictus* was to be used every day. Both Mattins and Evensong ended with the third Collect. In 1552 it was definitely declared to be of obligation on all priests and deacons to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer. It was also directed that the Athanasian Creed[3] should be used on thirteen occasions yearly, instead of on six only. In 1661 there was prefixed to the Evening Service the present penitential opening of Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution. This had been prefixed to Morning Prayer in 1552, with a direction that it was also to be said at Evening Prayer. Although it can claim a long precedent in the Confession and Absolution contained in the mediæval Offices of Prime and Compline, it may,

[1] The principle of Quiñones had been to have three lessons daily; one from the Old Testament, one from the Gospels, one from the Epistles or Acts. This has a parallel in the reformed English lectionary, the first lesson both at Mattins and Evensong being from the Old Testament, the second at Mattins was originally as a rule from the Gospels, and the second at Evensong as a rule from the Epistles or Acts.

[2] Although the *Te Deum* had not been used daily in the Divine Office itself, its daily use was familiar to the people, as it was said daily in the Mattins of our Lady contained in the Primer.

[3] Until 1661 the Athanasian Creed appears to have been said before the Apostles' Creed, and not instead of it.

perhaps, be legitimately doubted whether the use of such a form in a public service is not a mistake, as it leads the ignorant to imagine that a general confession of sinfulness is as valid as a careful confession of definite sins. Apart from this, the only defect in our present Evening Prayer seems to be the fact that the *Nunc dimittis* is less appropriate here and in the Sarum Compline, in both of which it occurs long before the end of the service, than in the Old Roman Compline, where it was simply followed by one prayer before the singers departed 'in peace' to their rest.

The prayers added after the third Collect at Morning and Evening Prayer were added in 1661.

(i) The prayer for the Sovereign occurs in the Primer of 1553, and in two little books of prayers printed by Berthelet, the King's printer at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. In its present shape it was introduced into the Litany adopted in Queen Elizabeth's chapel in 1559.

(ii) The prayer for the Royal Family was added to the Litany in 1604, and was probably composed by Archbishop Whitgift. King James's family was the first that would be likely to suggest to the clergy the use of such a prayer.

(iii) The prayer for the Clergy and People, from the Gelasian Sacramentary, occurs in the English Litany of 1544.

(iv) The prayer of S. Chrysostom also occurs in the English Litany of 1544, and was probably taken by Cranmer from the Latin translation of the prayer in the Greek and Latin edition of the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom printed at Venice in 1528.

(v) The Benediction from 2 Corinthians xiii. 14 was introduced into the Prayer Book in 1559, among the prayers at the end of the Litany.

If we compare our Evensong with the Old Roman Evensong, we see that it contains almost the whole

of that venerable service with the exception of the respond and the antiphons or *anthems*. The latter were much reduced in the Middle Ages, and in the 'modern' Roman service their original importance and meaning were quite obscured. They had become useless for the purpose of giving the musical tone at the beginning of the psalm as the organ could do this quite as well, and as they were no longer sung in the course of the psalms they did not serve to relieve monotony. The modern English anthem takes the place of the Old Roman *respond*.

Our present Evensong agrees with the Old Roman Evensong and differs from the modern Roman in these particulars:—(1) It contains no liturgical hymns; (2) each lesson is a genuine lesson, and not a 'little chapter,'[1] so diminutive as to be scarcely visible; (3) it allows hardly any interruptions to the systematic reading of the Psalms. On the other hand, it has borrowed from Compline—(1) the *Nunc dimittis*; (2) the Creed; (3) the Sarum Collect derived from the ancient Gelasian Sacramentary, beginning 'Lighten our darkness.'

[1] It is, however, doubtful whether the 'short lesson' (corresponding with what was afterwards called the *capitulum* or 'little chapter') was ever long, and whether any of the Offices had long lessons except Mattins. The *capitulum* of Prime was originally quite a different thing. It was named after the 'chapter' of monks who assembled at the beginning of each day for private devotions, and not named after a 'chapter' of the Bible. It was a series of devotions added to the Office. It began with the Creed and included two lessons, one being from the monastic rule of S. Benedict. In later times another *capitulum*, viz. a short lesson, was inserted in the Office itself.

The *preces feriales*, or non-festal week-day petitions, called by S. Benedict *supplicatio litaniae*, are a short litany. In the eighth century they followed not only Lauds and Vespers, but also Terce, Sext, and None. The Sarum Breviary always retained them after these services. They survive in our petitions, 'O Lord, shew Thy mercy upon us,' etc.

The *Pater noster* was originally the climax of Vespers; in the eighth century it was already replaced on Sundays and festivals by the Collect of the day.

THE ORDER OF EVENING PRAYER.

Sarum Portiforium.	*Revision of the Roman Breviary, by Quiñones.*	*Old Roman Office.*
VESPERS.	VESPERS.	VESPERS.
Pater noster. Ave.	Pater noster.	
Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.
Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.
Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	
	Hymn.	
5 Psalms, *with* Antiphons.	3 Psalms.	5 Psalms, *with* Antiphons.
Capitulum.		Lesson.
Hymn.		
Magnificat, *with* Antiphon.	Magnificat.	Magnificat, *with* Antiphon.
		Kyrie eleison.
Collect of the Day.	Collect of the Day.	Pater *or* Collect of the Day.
Memorials.	Memorials.	Supplicatio litaniae.
COMPLINE.	COMPLINE.	COMPLINE.
Pater noster. Ave.	Pater noster.	Lesson.
Converte nos.	Converte nos.	
Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.	
Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.	
Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	
	Hymn.	
4 fixed Psalms.	3 Psalms.	4 fixed Psalms.
Capitulum.		
Hymn.		
Nunc dimittis.	Nunc dimittis.	Nunc dimittis.
Preces:—Kyrie eleison.		
Pater noster. Ave.		
Credo.		
Versicles *and* Responses *with* Confiteor *and* Absolutio.		
Collect for Aid.	Collect for Aid and Peace.	Collect.
Benedicamus. Deo gratias.	Benedicamus. Deo gratias.	
	Fidelium animae.	
	Salve regina. Collect.	
	Noctem quietam.	

THE ORDER OF MORNING PRAYER.

Sarum Portiforium.	*Revision of the Roman Breviary, by Quiñones.*	*Old Roman Office.*
MATTINS.	MATTINS.	NOCTURNAL OFFICE.
Pater noster. Ave.	Pater noster.	
	Confiteor. Absolutio.	
Domine labia.	Domine labia.	Domine labia.
Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.	
Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.
Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	
Ps. Venite, *with* Invitatory.	*Ps.* Venite, *with* Invitatory.	*Ps.* Venite, *with* Invitatory.
Hymn.	Hymn.	
12, *or* (S) 18 Psalms, *with* Antiphons, *and* Gloria *after certain Psalms.*	3 Psalms, *with* Gloria *after each Psalm.*	12, *or* (S) 18 Psalms, *with* Antiphons, *and* Gloria *after certain Psalms.*
Pater noster. Ave.	Pater noster.	Pater noster.
3, *or* 9 Lessons, *with* Responds,	3 Lessons.	3, *or* 9 Lessons, *with* Responds.
(S) Te Deum.	Te Deum, *or Ps.* Miserere.	
LAUDS.	LAUDS.	LAUDS.
Pater noster. Ave.		
Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.
Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.
Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	
5 Psalms, *among them* (S) Jubilate, *and* Benedicite.	3 Psalms.	5 Psalms, *among them* (S) Jubilate, *and* Benedicite.
Capitulum.		Lesson.
Hymn.		
Benedictus.	Benedictus.	Benedictus.
Collect of the Day, *or* Preces feriales.	Collect of the Day.	Kyrie eleison. Pater noster.
	Memorials.	Supplicatio litaniae.
Benedicamus. Deo gratias.	Benedicamus. Deo gratias. Fidelium animae.	
PRIME.	PRIME.	PRIME.
Pater noster. Ave.	Pater noster.	
Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.
Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.
Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	
Hymn.	Hymn.	
3, *or* (S) 9 Psalms.	3 Psalms.	3, *or* (S) 9 Psalms.
Symbolum Athanasii.	Apost. *or* (S) Athan. Creed.	
Capitulum.		
Preces:—Kyrie eleison. Pater noster. Credo. Versicles *and* Responses *with* Confiteor *and* Absolutio		Kyrie eleison. Pater noster. *Capitulum*:—Credo. Confessio. Miserere. Lesson. Collect.
Collect for Grace.	Collect for Grace.	Verses and Responses.
Benedicamus. Deo gratias.	Benedicamus. Deo gratias. Fidelium animae.	Lesson. Blessing.

N.B.—(S) denotes the Sunday services.

THE ORDER OF EVENING PRAYER.

Sarum Portiforium.	*Revision of the Roman Breviary, by Quiñones.*	*Old Roman Office.*
VESPERS.	VESPERS.	VESPERS.
Pater noster. Ave.	Pater noster.	
Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.
Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.
Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	
	Hymn.	
5 Psalms, *with* Antiphons.	3 Psalms.	5 Psalms, *with* Antiphons.
Capitulum.		Lesson.
Hymn.		
Magnificat, *with* Antiphon.	Magnificat.	Magnificat, *with* Antiphon.
		Kyrie eleison.
Collect of the Day.	Collect of the Day.	Pater *or* Collect of the Day.
Memorials.	Memorials.	Supplicatio litaniae.
COMPLINE.	COMPLINE.	COMPLINE.
Pater noster. Ave.	Pater noster.	Lesson.
Converte nos.	Converte nos.	
Deus in adjutorium.	Deus in adjutorium.	
Gloria Patri.	Gloria Patri.	
Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	Alleluia, *or* Laus tibi.	
	Hymn.	
4 fixed Psalms.	3 Psalms.	4 fixed Psalms.
Capitulum.		
Hymn.		
Nunc dimittis.	Nunc dimittis.	Nunc dimittis.
Preces:—Kyrie eleison.		
Pater noster. Ave.		
Credo.		
Versicles *and* Responses *with* Confiteor *and* Absolutio.		
Collect for Aid.	Collect for Aid and Peace.	Collect.
Benedicamus. Deo gratias.	Benedicamus. Deo gratias.	
	Fidelium animae.	
	Salve regina. Collect.	
	Noctem quietam.	

CHAPTER VII

THE LITANY

By Thy birth, and by Thy Cross,
Rescue him from endless loss;
By Thy death and burial,
Save him from a final fall;
By Thy rising from the tomb,
By Thy mounting up above,
By the Spirit's gracious love,
Save him in the day of doom.

NEWMAN, *Dream of Gerontius.*

THE Litany is the most admirable part of the Prayer Book. It gathers together the finest utterances of mediæval devotion, and the English in which they are expressed lingers in the ear and heart. The use of litanies dates from the period when the Christian faith was winning its last victories over paganism in the countries of Latin speech, when the Church could openly offer to the people that satisfaction of their aspirations which they had vainly sought from pagan gods. Some historical facts of special interest show us how the Christians began the use of litanies. First, they endeavoured to supplant a pagan procession with a Christian procession. The heathen Romans had dedicated April 25th to the observance of the *Robigalia*, when the god Robigus was besought to preserve the young corn from blight. The poet Ovid describes the procession which took place upon that day. It

left the city by the Flaminian Gate, passed over the Milvian Bridge, and there worshipped at a sanctuary in the suburbs. The Christians in the time of S. Gregory and S. Augustine went in procession by a similar route to implore the blessing of God upon the fruits of the earth. They started from the Church of S. Laurence *in Lucina*, near the Flaminian Gate, went to the Church of S. Valentine, then to the Milvian Bridge, and finally turned towards the Vatican, and entered the basilica of S. Peter.

Secondly, there were other special litanies in addition to these annual litanies. At Auxerre a litany was recited every month. Extraordinary litanies were sung in times of great public distress and fear. Such a litany is described by S. Gregory of Tours as having been observed in A.D. 477, when Mamertus, the Bishop of Vienne in Gaul, ordered litanies for the three days before Ascension Day, in consequence of a destructive earthquake. These services spread through the whole of Frankish Gaul, and were known as the *Rogations* or 'supplications.' The Rogation Days were days of fasting as well as prayer. They were probably observed in England from the days of Augustine, as the Council of Clovesho in A.D. 747 enjoins them to be kept 'according to the custom of our ancestors.' They were introduced into Rome about A.D. 800. It is possible that the Christians of Gaul were influenced by the recollection of the pagan procession known as the *lustratio agrorum*, which took place at the Ambarvalia on May 29.

How these days were kept in the decadence of the Middle Ages we read in Strype's account of the year 1554: 'Rogation Week being come, May 3 being Holy Thursday, at the Court of St. James's, the Queen went in procession within St. James's, with heralds and sergeants of arms, and four bishops mitred. And Bishop Bowen, beside his mitre, wore a pair of slippers of silver and gilt, and a pair of rich gloves, with

ouches of silver upon them very rich. And all the three days there went her chapel about the fields. The first day to St. Giles', and there sung Mass. The next day, being Tuesday, to St. Martin's in the Fields: and there a sermon was preached and Mass sung. And the company drank there. The third day to Westminster, where a sermon was made, and then Mass and good cheer made. And after, about the Park, and so to St. James's Court. The same Rogation Week went out of the Tower, on procession, priests and clerks, and the Lieutenant with all his waiters; and the axe of the Tower borne in procession: the waits attended.'[1]

Also, in addition to the annual and extraordinary litanies, there was in England a choral procession every Sunday before High Mass. Our forefathers did not regard this procession as a cheerful method of entering or walking round the church, as seems to be the habit in some modern places of worship. It was a definite act of worship made while walking to a definite point. Before Mass it led to the high altar, at other times to the font, the rood, or some side altar. At Salisbury there were processions after Evensong on special days:

(*a*) To the altars of S. Stephen, S. John, the Holy Innocents, and S. Thomas on Christmas Day and the three following days; and when there was an altar named after any saint, there was generally a procession thither after the first Evensong of the festival of that saint.

(*b*) To the font from Easter Day to Friday in Easter Week—this being from the earliest times the favourite season for Baptisms and the procession being of most ancient origin.

(*c*) To the rood on Low Sunday at first Evensong, and thenceforward till the Ascension on every Saturday and on Holy Cross Day, and every Saturday from the first Sunday after Trinity until Advent.

[1] Strype, *Historical Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 120.

Now, it is remarkable that our English Litany recapitulates all the historical circumstances of the more important ancient litanies and processions. It was issued in a time of distress and fear, it was based upon the litany and procession of Rogation-tide, and it came to be employed every Sunday as well as annually and occasionally. In 1543 the crops were damaged by excessive rain and Henry VIII. wrote to Cranmer to require 'rogations and processions to be made.' In these services a Latin litany was used and the Mass followed. In 1544, England being at war with France and Scotland, Cranmer issued a litany in English almost identical with our present form. The 'accustomed days' for the litany both in 1543 and 1544 were Wednesdays and Fridays, on which days it had been sung in mediæval times. The Mass would naturally be that 'for time of war.' The Litany was printed in Henry VIII.'s Primer of 1545 with the title *The Litany and Suffrages*, and it is also called 'this common prayer of procession.' The idea of an English litany had long been familiar to the people, as such a litany had been contained in the Prymers used by the laity throughout the fifteenth century. It was therefore hoped by Henry VIII. that as the Litany would now be recited publicly in English, the processions would be better attended than they had been in 1543 when Latin was employed. The new Litany was first sung in S. Paul's Cathedral on S. Luke's day 1545, which day fell on a Sunday.

It is certain that Cranmer intended to provide other English processional hymns for festivals, for in October 1545 he wrote to Henry saying that he had 'translated into the English tongue certain processions' for this purpose. Among these processional hymns was the *Salve Festa Dies*, or 'Hail Festal Day,' sung at Easter and other high festivals. Cranmer was unable to write poetry with the facility that he displayed in writing

prose, and showed this inability in his translation of the *Veni Creator*. His lack of skill caused him to abandon his project. It therefore appears that before the end of the reign of Henry VIII., while the Mass was still sung in Latin, it was generally preceded by the English Litany, the old Latin processional hymns were discarded, and the Litany was called 'the procession.' It was sung in procession.

Soon after Henry's death in 1547 an injunction of Edward VI. directed that processions were to be discontinued, and that 'immediately before High Mass' the Litany was to be said or sung by the clergy kneeling in the midst of the church. 'None other procession or litany' was to be used henceforth. The reasons given for the discontinuance of the imposing ancient processions, with their measured tread and lights and incense, were 'to avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath arisen among the King's majesty's subjects in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy, and challenging of places in procession, and also that they may more quietly hear that which is said or sung to their edifying.' What historic value we can attach to the first of the two alleged reasons must be a matter of some uncertainty. The Calvinism of Somerset probably suggests the real answer.

When the first English Prayer Book appeared in 1549, the Litany was printed after the Mass. No direction was given for its use on Sundays, which was probably well established. But the idea of providing an alternative on greater feasts still lingered, for at the very end of the Prayer Book it is said: 'Also upon Christmas Day, Easter Day, the Ascension Day, Whit-Sunday, and the Feast of the Trinity, may be used any part of Holy Scripture hereafter to be certainly limited and appointed, in the stead of the Litany.' The rubric above the Litany is headed, 'The Litany and Suffrages' (the suffrages being still disconnected from the first

part of the procession). The rubric itself says that 'the English Litany' shall be 'said or sung' on Wednesdays and Fridays. The officiating priest apparently wore a surplice. The Litany was still an introduction to the Mass, for a rubric at the end of the Mass assumes that the priest will celebrate immediately after the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays. If there were no communicants, the priest vested himself in a cope and said 'at the altar' everything appointed to be said at the celebration 'until after the Offertory.' After which he added one or two collects, and let the people depart with the accustomed blessing. The same tradition was preserved in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who directed in 1559 that the Litany should be said 'immediately before the time of communion of the Sacrament.' In these injunctions of Elizabeth the Edwardian phrase concerning 'fond courtesy' is repeated, but directions are given for the 'perambulation of the circuits of parishes . . . used heretofore in the days of rogations.' These interesting directions mark a return to ancient practice. They were not found in the injunctions of Edward VI.

It is therefore abundantly clear that the English Litany was intended to be the authorised prelude to the principal Sunday Eucharist, and also of the Eucharist of Wednesdays and Fridays. The latter being penitential days, the days of the early Christian *statio* or 'mounting guard,' it was considered right that the Litany should be prefixed to the Eucharist. The Litany is in no sense an appendage to Morning Prayer, and for many generations after the Reformation it was often recited at a much later hour than Morning Prayer. Thus in Canterbury Cathedral at the close of the seventeenth century Morning Prayer was read on Sundays at six or seven, and the Litany was sung at ten, followed by the Communion Service. At Christ Church, Oxford, the students attended

Mattins at six on Wednesdays and Fridays, and Litany at nine. The practice of regarding the Litany as an appendage to Mattins was simply the result of neglecting to celebrate the Eucharist every Sunday. The result of this widespread neglect of the service which Christ Himself instituted was that in most parochial churches the ordinary service for Sunday morning consisted of Mattins, Litany, and the beginning of the Communion Service, said consecutively without any break. When the Oxford movement caused a more general revival of weekly celebrations, the great length of the combined services of Mattins, Litany, and the Eucharist, made it necessary to make some abbreviation. In many cases the parochial clergy, instead of placing Mattins at an earlier hour in accordance with ancient usage, retained the late Mattins and omitted the Litany. The final perversion of the meaning of the Litany took place when it was shifted to the afternoon. A somewhat similar practice has grown up in those Roman Catholic churches where no litany is familiar to the people except the Litany of Loretto, ordinarily sung by the people in the afternoon or evening.

No student who is acquainted with the spirit of the Prayer Book can doubt that the Litany ought to be said or sung every Sunday before the principal service. The congregation, by joining in the responses, would in many places give to this form of devotion a solemnity and vivacity which marked the golden age of liturgical worship.

We may now consider the separate elements from which the English Litany is derived.

(i) *The Sarum Litany for Rogation Monday.* The most important part of the English Litany is derived from the litany sung on Rogation Monday according to the rite of Sarum. Before invoking the mercy of the Holy Trinity, the Sarum Litany contained the

Greek prayer to our Saviour, *Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson.* After the petitions to the Holy Trinity there came a long list of saints, each name being followed by the request for their intercessions, *pray for us.* The English Litany in the Primer of 1545 retained only three of these requests—'Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God our Saviour Jesu Christ, pray for us'; 'All holy angels and archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, pray for us'; 'All holy patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, pray for us.' It should be noticed that such requests for prayer were common in the Latin services which were used side by side with the English Litany; they were expressly sanctioned by the King's Book of 1543, and also by the Bishops' Book of 1537. But much popular superstition had gathered round the veneration of the saints, and in 1549 Cranmer adopted the measure of omitting from the Litany all requests addressed to the saints.

In the petitions which follow, Cranmer massed together various short clauses into one. The result is that the English Litany has lost the short processional steps which marked the Latin Litany, and has assumed a certain fulness and eloquence which are fitted to aid the worship of a motionless congregation. For instance, the Sarum Litany has:

> From all evil, Deliver us, O Lord.
> From the crafts of the devil, Deliver us, O Lord.
> From everlasting damnation, Deliver us, O Lord.
> From the imminent perils of our sins, Deliver us, O Lord.
> From the assaults of demons, Deliver us, O Lord.

In our modern Litany this is replaced by:

> From all evil and mischief; from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil; from Thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation,
>
> Good Lord, deliver us.

In the same way the Sarum Litany bases a separate petition on the fact of the holy Incarnation, of the Nativity, of the Circumcision, of the Baptism, and of the Fasting of our Lord, all of which are now comprehended in one clause.

(ii) *The Sarum Litany for the Dying.* It is important to notice that Cranmer did not merely make use of the processional Litany, and that his work is partly based upon a Sarum Litany which was not intended for processional use. This is the exquisite Litany which was said by the priest as a 'Commendation of a soul in the moment of death.' Immediately before the beginning of this Litany, which was repeated over our forefathers in their last agony, there was thrice said:

> Spare, O Lord, spare Thy servant whom Thou hast vouchsafed to redeem with Thy precious Blood: be not angry with him for ever.

It should be observed that this does not contain the words 'give not Thine inheritance unto perdition,' which are found in the ordinary Sarum Litany, and are not found in the modern English form. The following is an exact translation of the Latin words printed before the ordinary *Letania*:

> *Antiphon.* Remember not, O Lord, our offences nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take Thou vengeance of our sins.[1] [*No more is said when it is said in choir.*] Spare, O Lord, spare Thy people, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious Blood be not angry with us for ever: and give not Thine inheritance unto perdition: forget us not for ever.[2]

From the 'Commendation' appear to be derived the words 'from Thy wrath,' and perhaps the conjunction of 'crafts and assaults of the devil' in our petition.

(iii) *A German Litany.* In 1529 Luther revised a mediæval Litany used in Germany, and published it

[1] Tobit iii. 3. [2] Joel ii. 17.

both in German and Latin for use at Wittenberg. It was accepted by Archbishop Hermann of Cöln for his own diocese, and was certainly used as a basis for the Litany in Marshall's Primer of 1535. The Primer of Bishop Hilsey of Rochester in 1539 returns to the Sarum Litany, though it reduces the number of saints whose prayers are asked. From Luther's Litany, if we can rightly give the name of Luther to such a mediæval work, are derived the petition for magistrates, the words 'in all time of our tribulation: in all time of our wealth,' the words 'to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived,' and practically the whole of the Litany from 'strengthen such as do stand' to the end of the petition for 'enemies, persecutors, and slanderers.'

Luther's influence is also shown in the prayer which follows the Lord's Prayer. Luther has:[1]

> *Vers.* O Lord, deal not with us according to our sins.
> *Res.* Neither reward us according to our iniquities.
> O God, *merciful Father,* that despisest not the sighing of the contrite, and spurnest not the desire of the sorrowful, assist our prayers which we make *before Thee* in the troubles which continually oppress us, and graciously *hear* us, etc.

This collect occurs in the Sarum Missal in the 'Mass for those in trouble of heart,' and Luther must have known the same collect or a variation of it. But Cranmer's translation adheres more closely to Luther's version than to the Sarum version, for he inserts the words 'merciful Father,' alters the words 'to Thy goodness' into 'before Thee,' and says 'graciously hear' instead of 'graciously regard.' And Cranmer sometimes turned from Marshall and Hilsey to Luther, as can be seen from the petition that Christ will 'beat down Satan under our feet,' a petition which is less

[1] The versicle and response occur in the Sarum Litany, but are not followed by the prayer.

accurately translated in Marshall's rendering of Luther, and does not occur in Hilsey.

After the long prayer, which was modified through Luther's influence, our Litany returns to the Sarum Litany for Rogation Monday.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for Thy Name's sake.

This is the ancient antiphon, *Exsurge Domine* (Psalm xliv. 26), and it is still appropriately continued with the words, 'O God, we have heard with our ears,' etc. (Psalm xliv. 1). After this the *Gloria* used to be sung, and the *Exsurge* was repeated. It is an ordinary antiphon shortened. By a grotesque modern mistake the *Exsurge* is now printed and sung as if it were a kind of *Amen* said by the choir to the previous collect. The collect ought to end with *Amen* like any other collect, and *Amen* was printed here in the versions used in Elizabeth's chapel in 1558 and 1559. Until the revised book was printed in 1662, the clergy ended the collects with the traditional formulæ, but in 1662 *Amen*, though omitted in the Litany collect, was wrongly printed in the Sunday collects after the words 'Jesus Christ our Lord.' The words *Who liveth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost* were left out by mistake.

(iv) *The Sarum Litany in time of war.* The beautiful petitions which begin *From our enemies defend us, O Christ*, and end *graciously hear us, O Lord Christ* are translated with small changes[1] from certain verses added to the Sarum Litany for Rogation Monday in time of war. Their retention in 1544 was peculiarly appropriate, as England was then at war with France and Scotland. But there is no necessity for confining their use to times of war. Their oldest use in

[1] The words *Son of David* are remarkable. The original was *Fili Dei vivi*; it seems possible that the words *Dei vivi* may have been so written as to be mistaken for David.

England was connected with peace and joy, and dates back almost to the dawn of English Christianity. They are to be found at the conclusion of the litany appointed to be sung at the consecration of a church in the Pontifical attributed to Egbert,[1] who became Archbishop of York in A.D. 732.

Then come the following versicle and response:

> *Priest.* O Lord, let Thy mercy be showed upon us;
> *Answer.* As we do put our trust in Thee.

In the Sarum service these words were ordinarily said on week-days at the conclusion of Lauds. The collect which follows is enlarged from the Sarum collect for the time of war. The Litany ought to end with the prayer of S. Chrysostom as in 1549. But in 1559 there was added *The Grace of our Lord*, etc., which now closes the Litany. This has given the Litany a false appearance of completeness by obliterating the fact that its real completion is the Eucharist, which ought to follow it immediately. It is true that in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom *The Grace of our Lord*, etc., occurs at the beginning of the most solemn part of the Eucharist. But this is not sufficient justification for printing it where it stands in our Prayer Book. In 1661 our revisers placed the same words at the conclusion of Morning Prayer, and thus corroborated the popular misconception that the Litany comes to an end as definitely and absolutely as Morning Prayer.

Having considered the history and sources of the Litany, it remains to add a few words to explain its structure. It may be divided into six parts:

(*a*) THE INVOCATIONS TO THE HOLY TRINITY, invoking mercy for us as sinners. It was to ask for mercy that some of the first litanies were first instituted. The prayer 'Remember not' comes as a climax to this section.

[1] Published by the Surtees Society, vol. xxvii.

The *Suffrages* now follow immediately, as there are no longer any requests to the saints for their prayers. In the Ordination Service the special petition for those to be ordained is called the 'proper suffrage.' So the original title of the English Litany was, as we have seen, *Litany and Suffrages*. The Suffrages are usually distinguished as follows:—

(*b*) The Deprecations, or prayers against evil, beginning 'From all evil and mischief.' They may be regarded as expansions of the clause in the Lord's Prayer, *Deliver us from evil*, and they are immediately addressed to our Blessed Lord as the Deliverer from all forms of evil and their injurious consequences.

(*c*) The Obsecrations, or prayers of entreaty; *i.e.* prayers entreating for the assistance which is derived from all that Christ has done for us men and our salvation, beginning 'By the mystery.' These are addressed to our Blessed Lord.

(*d*) The Intercessions, or prayers on behalf of others, commencing with 'We sinners do beseech.' They include 'all sorts and conditions of men,' from the holy Church to the persecutors and slanderers of the same. These also are addressed to the Saviour of all men.

(*e*) The Supplications. These are two prayers; one for material blessings, that God will preserve to us the fruits of the earth; the other for spiritual blessings, that God will give us repentance, pardon, and the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Thus conclude the *Suffrages*.

(*f*) The Versicles and Prayers are, on the whole, penitential and marked by a sense of calamity and need in accordance with their origin. The Divine Redeemer is so touched with the feeling of our infirmities that His intercession for us is as perpetual as our need, and we do wrong to imagine that we are ever free from danger and weakness, or that these prayers are ever inappropriate.

We may notice one or two instances of archaic English, viz. *wealth* for wellbeing or felicity, the *Lords of the Council* for the Lords of the Privy Council, *kindly fruits* for natural fruits, and *after our sins . . . after our iniquities* for 'according to, in proportion to, our sins and iniquities.'

It is an interesting fact that the fine *Prayer for all Conditions of Men*, composed by Dr. Peter Gunning, is probably an abbreviated form of a prayer intended as a substitute for the Litany. But the Convocation of 1661 very properly adopted it as an alternative to the Litany, 'to be used at such times when the Litany is not appointed to be said.'

CHAPTER VIII

BAPTISM[1]

> And when the pure
> And consecrated element hath cleansed
> The original stain, the child is there received
> Into the second ark, Christ's Church, with trust
> That he, from wrath redeemed, therein shall float
> Over the billows of this troublesome world
> To the fair land of everlasting life.
>
> WORDSWORTH, *The Pastor*.

§ 1. *Baptismal Rites before* A.D. 600.

HOLY BAPTISM was instituted by our Lord Himself. In S. Matt. xxviii. 19 the risen Saviour commands His apostles to go and teach all nations, 'baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Modern sceptics have denied that Christ ever employed such a formula, simply because they deny that His sacred Body rose from the dead, and that He gave any directions to His disciples after His death on Calvary. Without pausing to discuss the momentous fact of the Resurrection, we may observe that the primitive use of this formula is attested by the mention of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity in such passages as 2 Cor. xiii. 14, S. John xiv. 26, Heb. x. 29. Another passage where Christ speaks of the necessity

[1] For a full account of the Ceremonies of Baptism and the Preparation of Catechumens, see *Baptism*, chaps. xii., xiii., by Mr. Darwell Stone, in this series.

of Baptism is in the Gospel of S. John. The Gospel was written a long time after the other Gospels, probably about A.D. 85, and the inspired author does not regard it as necessary to record the institution of the Eucharist and Baptism. These holy rites were then familiar to the Christian world, and their origin was adequately described in the other Gospels. S. John therefore confines himself to recording two discourses which illuminate these two Sacraments respectively. In chapter vi. he records our Lord's own exposition of the Bread which came down from heaven, and in chapter iii. he gives us the discourse with Nicodemus, where it is asserted that 'except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'

It is quite impossible to exaggerate the importance which the early Christians attached to Baptism. S. Peter attaches to it the remission of our sins by God,[1] and S. Paul calls it the 'laver' or 'washing' of 'regeneration' (Tit. iii. 5). Not only so, but in Romans vi. 1-14 he enforces the truth that the Christian must not yield to Sin, because any such yielding is a repudiation of the union which Baptism effects between Christ and the believer. Every one, he teaches, who has faith in Christ is baptized into Christ, and the great crises in the history of the Saviour are then repeated in the believer. Christ died, and the believer enters the baptismal water to die unto sin, and to place himself out of its reach. Christ was buried, and the believer, in order to ratify his death to sin, remains for an instant submerged beneath the water. Christ was raised from the dead, and the believer stands upright again to begin a new and risen life. It is abundantly evident that S. Paul neither here nor elsewhere regards Baptism as a mere symbol. The desire to put such an interpretation upon his words has been caused by the erroneous notion that the doctrine of a real, as opposed

[1] Acts ii. 38; cf. Acts xxii. 16.

to a merely symbolic, baptismal regeneration, implies that a baptized person will infallibly be saved. But the doctrine implies nothing of the kind, and the apostle only regards Baptism as an assurance of sanctification and salvation when a Christian actively avails himself of the powers which Baptism imparts.

The question as to whether infants were baptized in the apostolic age must, it seems, be answered in the affirmative. It is not definitely said that infants were baptized, but the Scriptures suggest it both by mentioning the Baptism of 'households,' and by drawing a comparison between Baptism and Circumcision, which was always performed in infancy. Secondly, we must notice that when the Jews baptized their proselytes they seem to have baptized their children also, and the Christians would almost certainly follow the Jewish practice in such a matter. Thirdly, the Baptism of infants is definitely mentioned by S. Irenaeus, who was the pupil of Polycarp, the disciple of S. John. It is also mentioned about 190 by Clement of Alexandria, and Origen expressly says, 'The Church has received it as a tradition from the apostles to administer Baptism even to infants.' The evidence of these three great Fathers is so valuable that it cannot reasonably be rejected.

Outside the New Testament, the earliest account of Baptism is that contained in the *Teaching of the Apostles*, if we are right in dating the book about A.D. 100. The rite of Baptism here includes (1) previous instruction and fasting; (2) a person who baptizes the convert; (3) the use of water—running water if possible; (4) the repetition of the formula, 'into the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' If the water was not abundant enough for the candidate to be immersed in it, pouring water upon his head was sufficient.

The following account is given by S. Justin Martyr

of Baptism as it was administered at Rome about A.D. 152:—

> Those who are convinced of the truth of our doctrine, and have promised to live according to it, are exhorted to prayer, fasting, and repentance for past sins, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are led by us to a place where is water, and in this way they are regenerated, as we also have been regenerated —that is, they receive the water-bath in the Name of God, the Father and Ruler of all, and of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. For Christ says, 'Except ye be born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.' Thus, from children of necessity and ignorance we become children of choice and of wisdom, and partakers of the forgiveness of former sins. . . . The baptismal bath is also called illumination, because those who receive it are enlightened in the understanding.[1]

The comparative simplicity of Justin's description of the ritual of Baptism does not exclude the probability that ceremonies which he does not mention were already employed in the service. These ceremonies came to be of a very impressive and picturesque character, having some resemblance to ceremonies employed in certain pagan rites of initiation. Capital has lately been made out of this fact, in order to represent the Catholic baptismal ceremonial of the fourth century as pagan in origin and the Church of that period as deeply infected with heathen superstition. But a close examination of the phenomena shows the accusation to be as ridiculous as it is malicious. The more important ceremonies of the fourth century were in use about A.D. 200, when the Church took no enjoyment in the precarious advantage of pagan æstheticism. Among the circumstances of Baptism about A.D. 200 was the fact that the time was generally at Easter, that the candidate renounced Satan, that he was anointed and signed with the cross, that immediately after Baptism he received the laying on of the bishop's hands, then was given Holy Communion, and finally a draught of milk and

[1] *Apol.* i. 16.

honey, symbolical of the good things of the land of promise. It is almost certain that this anointing dates back as early as A.D. 140, and the draught of milk and honey seems suggested in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, which is probably at least as early as A.D. 98.

Now these features are conspicuous in the use of the fourth century, at which time we find an astonishing unanimity in the baptismal rites of different countries. Our best information is derived from the writings of S. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 347, and S. Silvia, A.D. 385, and those of S. Ambrose and S. Augustine. The former writers show us the customs of Greek-speaking Christians, the two latter show us the customs of the Latin-speaking populations of Milan and North Africa. Examples of the baptismal prayers employed in Egypt are preserved in the book of Bishop Serapion. The rites are sharply divided into two parts; the first part is the service used when a convert from heathenism was admitted to the catechumenate, *i.e.* made a probationary member of the Church and brought under Christian instruction. In the fourth century it was not uncommon for men to become catechumens and then to postpone Baptism until old age or the imminent approach of death. The emperors Constantine and Constantius were guilty of this trifling with religion. Sometimes the delay was due to an exaggerated reverence; too often it was due to a man's desire to have his 'fling' before he made his peace with God; and this accounts for the denunciation of the practice which flashed from the 'golden mouth' of Chrysostom. The second part of the rites of initiation into Christianity comprises the actual Baptism, followed by Confirmation and first Communion.

At Jerusalem the candidates for the catechumenate presented themselves at the beginning of Lent to the bishop. Their names were taken down, and the bishop made careful inquiries as to the character of each

candidate. If the information received was favourable, the candidate was accepted and numbered among the φωτιζόμενοι 'the recipients of enlightenment' (cf. Heb. vi. 4). During the whole of Lent they met in church every morning, and were instructed by the bishop or his delegate. Clergymen of lower rank pronounced over them certain exorcisms of the Evil One.

In due time they were taught the Creed, which was somewhat shorter than our present Nicene Creed. The course of instruction still continued, and each candidate recited the Creed by heart before the bishop. Instruction on the Eucharist and Baptism was reserved until Easter week.

On the night of Easter Even all the candidates were received in the vestibule of the baptistery, and the ceremony began by the candidates renouncing Satan. This they did turning to the West, the region of darkness. Then they turned to the East and recited the Creed. These ceremonies then followed :—

(1) The candidates unrobed and entered the baptistery, where they were anointed with oil. In the case of female candidates this unction was performed by deaconesses.

(2) They entered the baptismal water, which had previously been blessed by the bishop. They confessed their faith in a threefold answer to the bishop's interrogations, and water was thrice poured over them.

(3) Having left the water, the candidates were anointed with perfumed oil (μύρον, Chrism). The bishop signed them with the cross with this oil, and apparently laid his hands upon them, thus administering Confirmation.

(4) The bishop then celebrated the Eucharist, and Holy Communion was given to the baptized.

It should be noticed in conclusion that, in parts of the Greek-speaking world, a presbyter was permitted to sign the candidate with the Chrism if the

bishop was not present. Ambrosiaster expressly says that this was done in Egypt.[1] Hence in the Eastern Church at the present day, if no bishop is present, the only confirmation is this unction administered by a priest. This is one of the very few cases in which the East has been less faithful than the West to apostolic usage. Inasmuch as infants were treated by the Church in the same manner as adults, Holy Communion was administered to little children at their Baptism. This practice still prevails in the East, and it lasted at Milan as late as the fifteenth century.

The usage of the West in the fourth century was so similar to that of the East that it is hardly necessary to quote at length the vivid and interesting passages in which S. Ambrose and S. Augustine depict the ceremonies of Baptism. The candidates or *competentes* were 'catechised, exorcised, and scrutinised.' The *scrutinium* is defined by an ancient writer as an 'investigation'; the exorcisms at Rome and at Milan included the giving of salt to the catechumen in token of the savour of wisdom which befits a Christian; they also included the ceremony of the *Ephpheta* or *Effeta*, which Ambrose calls 'the mystery of opening.' This was a touching of the lips and ears with saliva, as Christ touched the deaf and dumb man that he might hear and speak. The *competentes*, or *electi* as they were also called, were instructed during the course of Lent; and Ambrose speaks of himself as teaching the Creed to the *competentes* on Sunday after the sermon, when the catechumens had been dismissed.[2] By catechumens he evidently means those catechumens who had not yet been 'elected' for the rite of Baptism. On Palm Sunday the candidates entered the baptistery, answered the necessary questions, renounced Satan, turned to the East 'to Christ,' and repeated the Creed. The teaching of the Creed was known as the *Traditio*

[1] *In Ep. ad Eph.* c. iv. [2] *Ep.* xx. *ad Marcell.* 4.

Symboli; the repetition of it by the candidate was called the *Redditio Symboli.*

Late on Easter Even, after a long series of lessons and psalms, a procession went to the baptistery. At Milan there were two baptisteries, one for men and the other for women. The bishop blessed the water with the sign of the cross, the candidates descended into it, were questioned and confessed their faith, the bishop made the sign of the cross over them and poured water over their heads, repeating the baptismal formula. The neophytes then ascended from the font. The bishop then washed their feet, and they received from the bishop's hands a white baptismal robe.

The bishop then administered Confirmation, making the sign of the cross on the foreheads of the candidates with Chrism. S. Augustine speaks very definitely of this anointing.

The procession then returned 'amid the brilliant lights of the neophytes' to the cathedral church. The bishop immediately celebrated the Eucharist, and the newly baptized were allowed to communicate, although they were not, in Milan and Africa, allowed to make any oblation at the Offertory until the next Sunday. This was postponed on account of the fact that the 'sacrificial system' (*sacrificii ratio*) was not explained to them until Easter week.

§ 2. *Baptismal Rites from* A.D. 600 *to* A.D. 1549.

The baptismal rites of the Middle Ages were substantially the same as they were in the fourth century. Only it has to be remembered in studying them that many details were modified in order to fit them for the Baptism of children rather than adults, and to allow the frequent administration of Baptism by a priest instead of an administration by a bishop in the midst of the various rites of Easter Even. The selection of

Easter had no doubt been due to the desire that converts should commence their new life on the day that Christ had risen from the dead. But in the West the eve of Pentecost was chosen as a second baptismal festival, and in some countries the Epiphany and also Christmas were added for the same purpose.

A complete account of the Roman ceremonies of Baptism as administered in the seventh and eighth centuries has been preserved to us in an *Ordo Baptismi* of the time of Charles the Great, and in the Gelasian Sacramentary, which agrees closely with the *Ordo Baptismi*, except that it contains a few Gallican additions.

The rites of admittance to the catechumenate contained the exsufflation or breathing on the face of the candidate, in imitation of our Lord breathing upon His disciples, the signing with the sign of the cross, and the giving of salt. The instruction which preceded Baptism began in the third week of Lent, and the 'scrutinies' were seven in number. At the 'stational' Mass on Monday, at which all were expected to be present, notice was given of the first scrutiny. It took place after the collect in the Mass. Prayer was offered, and then three exorcists in turn laid their hands upon the candidates with this or a similar formula:—

O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God Who appearedst to Moses Thy servant in Mount Sinai, and broughtest forth the children of Israel from the land of Egypt, appointing for them the angel of Thy goodness to guard them day and night; we beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to send Thy holy angel to guard in like manner these Thy servants also, and bring them to the grace of Thy Baptism.

Therefore, accursed devil, recognise thy sentence and give honour to the living and true God, and give honour to Jesus Christ His Son, and to the Holy Spirit, and depart from these servants of God, for our God and Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call them to Himself and to His holy grace and blessing and the Baptism of the font by His free gift. And

this sign of the holy cross which we make upon their foreheads, do thou, accursed devil, never dare to violate.

The priest then said a prayer, and the catechumens were dismissed before the Gospel.

On the third day of scrutiny the catechumens were no longer dismissed just after the Gradual. Four deacons placed the four Gospels severally at the four corners of the altar, and the 'elect' listened to a short commentary on each of them. Then the Nicene Creed was taught to them either in Greek or Latin, according to the preference of the candidates. Lastly, the priest expounded and taught the 'Our Father.' These instructions were the Roman expansion of the *Traditio Symboli*. The *Redditio Symboli* took place at the seventh scrutiny, which was on the morning of Easter Even when no Mass was celebrated. After the *Effeta* the candidates were anointed with oil, like athletes about to struggle with a foe. This done, they renounced Satan and his works and pomps, and recited the Creed. They were dismissed by the archdeacon.

In the afternoon the 'elect' attend at the solemn Easter vigil, probably the most ancient of all Christian services except the Eucharist.[1] A series of lessons was read from the Old Testament, illustrating the dealings of God with His people from the creation of the world. The series was diversified with chants from the Old Testament, such as the Song of Miriam and 'Like as the hart desireth the water brooks.'

The Pope and his clergy then entered the sumptuous baptistery of the Lateran basilica. A portico encrusted with mosaic opens into an octagonal baptistery adorned with columns of porphyry. In it is a tank, from the midst of which there arose a candelabrum. Into the

[1] This vigil was originally kept on Saturday night, and the Mass which followed it was at dawn. It has now become transferred to Saturday morning, with the result that the first Mass of Easter is sometimes said twenty hours too soon.

tank there poured a stream of water from above a golden figure of the *Agnus Dei*, supported by silver statues of our Lord and S. John Baptist. The Pope recited a collect and a long consecratory preface, in the course of which he thrice signed the water with the cross, once breathed upon it, and once paused while two attendants threw lighted tapers into the water as he prayed that the power of the Holy Spirit might descend upon the fulness of the font. He then poured Chrism into the water, and moved the water with his hand.

All being ready, the 'elect' advanced towards the tank, modesty being safeguarded by the fact that separate oratories for men and women were provided close to the baptistery. The archdeacon presented them one by one to the Pope, who asked them, 'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?'—'Dost thou believe also in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, Who was born and suffered?'—'Dost thou believe also in the Holy Ghost, the holy Church, remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh?' As each answered in the affirmative, he stepped into the tank, and the Pope baptized him with the scriptural formula, the other clergy entering into the water and assisting. The baptized were then anointed with Chrism and clothed in white raiment.

Confirmation immediately followed in the adjacent chapel of the Holy Cross. The procession then entered the basilica once more, and Mass began. Before the end of the Canon the Pope blessed milk and honey, and the neophytes after receiving their first Communion partook of those emblems of the promised land as the day began to dawn over the eternal city.

The Sarum Baptismal Office is an abbreviated form of the ancient Roman rite. It contains four rites: the *Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum*, the *Benedictio Fontis*, the *Ritus Baptizandi*, and the *Confirmatio Puerorum*.

The priest met the child at the door, and inquired whether it was a boy or a girl, whether it had been baptized, and what its name was to be. If a boy it was placed at the priest's right hand, if a girl at the left—a custom which was a relic of the ceremonial anciently used at the Baptism of a large number of adults. The old ceremonies then followed. The child was signed with the cross, named and signed again. 'The salt of wisdom' was administered. A series of 'adjurations' and exorcisms was pronounced. A short Gospel from S. Matthew, describing Christ blessing the little children, was read. Then the priest performed the ceremony of the *Effeta*, touching the child's right ear, nostrils, and left ear. He then repeated the Our Father, Hail Mary, and the Creed with all the bystanders. And finally he made the sign of the cross on the child's hand, and brought it into the church saying, 'Enter into the temple of God, that thou mayest have eternal life and live for ever and ever. Amen.' The Gospel, Pater, Ave, and Credo were all that remained of the instruction of the *competentes*.

The *Benediction of the Font* began with a litany followed by a consecratory preface. The priest then divided the water in the form of a cross, and prayed that it might be 'a living fountain, a regenerating water, a purifying wave.' He then threw some of the water in four different directions, breathed upon it, poured wax into it from the taper, and finished the preface. Finally, he poured oil, Chrism, and oil and Chrism mingled into the water. The last ceremonies were omitted on the Eves of Easter and Pentecost unless there were any to be baptized.

The *Rite of Baptizing* is almost the same as in the eighth century. The priest places his hand upon the child and asks its name. Then follows the renunciation of Satan and all his works. The child is then anointed with oil on the breast and between the shoulders.

Then the priest puts the questions as to belief, adding 'What dost thou seek?'—'Baptism.' 'Wilt thou be baptized?'—'I will.' The child is then baptized with a threefold immersion. The priest afterwards gives the child to the godparents. He anoints it with Chrism, and the child is clothed with the *vestis chrismalis* (in English, chrisom), the priest saying meanwhile: '*N.* receive the white, holy, and stainless garment to bear before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayest have eternal life and live for ever and ever. Amen.' Parish churches were generally provided with chrisoms, which were lent to people who did not provide them for their godchildren.

A taper was then placed in the child's hand, with the words, '*N.* receive the burning light, which signifieth freedom from reproach: guard thy Baptism, keep the commandments, that when the Master cometh to the marriage feast, thou mayest meet Him together with the saints within the court of heaven: that thou mayest have eternal life for ever and ever. Amen.'

The *Confirmation* of the child followed immediately if the bishop was present; and the rubric also directs that the child should be communicated 'if his age demand it,' the priest saying, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and thy soul unto everlasting life. Amen.' The father and mother were then bidden in English to preserve the child from fire and water, and all other dangers until his seventh year, and the godparents, or the godmothers only, were enjoined to teach the child the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Creed, and to see that the child was confirmed as soon as the bishop came within seven miles of the place.

The service concluded with (i) a Gospel from S. Mark, containing the story of the healing of the dumb boy whose father said, 'Lord, I believe, help Thou

mine unbelief'; (ii) the prologue of S. John's Gospel, which was also read by the priest at the end of every Mass.

§ 3. *The Reformed Rites.*

In spite of the beauty of much of the mediæval English service, it is marked by certain defects. The ceremonies were too numerous for one continuous service, and their meaning had become somewhat obscured. If the service were said in two separate parts over adult converts from heathenism, the old Roman or Greek service would even at the present day be most imposing and felicitous. But the compressed mediæval service was in most cases said over infants only, and in such a manner that the essential rite of Baptism was smothered in non-essential ceremonies. A reform was therefore desirable, and, on the whole, the reform of 1549 was very well carried out.

In 1549 the preliminary service took place as before at the church door. It was greatly reduced in length. The child was named, crossed on the forehead and breast, and exorcised. There was no giving of salt and no *Effeta*. The Gospel story about the blessing of the little children was read from S. Mark, and no longer from S. Matthew. The minister repeated the Our Father and the Creed with the bystanders, and then took one of the children by the right hand and proceeded to the font with a brief prayer.

The reformed Benediction of the Font was printed at the end of the *private* Baptism of Infants, and it was ordered that the water should be changed at least every month, and blessed before a Baptism. The prayers appointed are admirable. The only ceremonial act directed is the primitive signing of the water with the sign of the cross. This Benediction is directly taken from the Mozarabic Benediction of the Font on Holy

Saturday, and part of it is retained in our present service.[1]

The *Rite of Baptizing* contains the renunciation of Satan, the questions as to belief including the whole of the Apostles' Creed, followed by 'What dost thou desire?'—'Baptism.' 'Wilt thou be baptized?'—'I will.' The child is then baptized with a threefold immersion. The child is afterwards taken by the godparents, and the minister puts upon it the chrisom with a prayer resembling the mediæval prayer. After this he anoints the child on the head, saying:—

> Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath regenerate thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins: He vouchsafe to anoint thee with the Unction of His Holy Spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life. Amen.

The lighted taper is no longer given. The godparents are exhorted to see that the children learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue, and the chrisoms are to be delivered to the priests 'after the accustomed manner, at the purification of the mother of every child.'

The influence of Archbishop Hermann's baptismal rite is very marked, and can be seen in

(*a*) The exhortation, 'Dearly beloved, forasmuch.'

(*b*) The prayer, 'Almighty and everlasting God, which.'

(*c*) The exhortation, 'Friends, ye hear.'

(*d*) The thanksgiving, 'Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father.'

The first of these four was apparently used by Luther in 1521, and perhaps written by him. The selection of the Gospel from S. Mark rather than S. Matthew is again due to the use of Cöln.

In 1552 the service was greatly altered. The idea of

[1] See *Missale Gothicum* (Cardinal Lorenzana's edit., Rome 1804), col. 455.

the catechumenate was given up, and the service began at the font. What is left of the earlier part of the service is merely an introduction to the Baptism itself. The exorcism and the sign of the cross at the beginning of the service were omitted. No direction was given with regard to the Benediction of the Font, although the prayers connected with the Benediction were repeated before the act of Baptism. The Unction and the chrisom were both omitted, and in their place was put the sign of the cross transferred from the beginning of the first division of the service. What is really remarkable is that amid this series of innovations the revisers erected a citadel of Catholicism. They inserted the address 'Seeing now, dearly beloved,' 'Our Father,' and 'We yield Thee hearty thanks.' In this new section, inserted after the sign of the cross, is the strongest possible assertion of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. It certainly suggests that Cranmer, conscious that he had yielded far too much in other parts of the book, was determined that he would not surrender a doctrine to which the whole primitive Church had given such unequivocal testimony.

In 1661 'of Infants' was added to the title to distinguish this Office from the new one for adult persons. The second rubric, requiring three sponsors, was added. Some other small changes were made. Two changes were really important. It was directed that the font was to be filled with pure water at each celebration of the rite, and the Benediction of the Font was restored by inserting in the prayer 'Almighty, everliving God' the words, 'sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin.' In 1661 there was also added the rubric asserting the salvation of baptized infants, derived from the *Ten Articles* of 1536, and placed in 1549 in the Order of Confirmation. The final rubric concerning the cross in Baptism was also added in 1661.

In and since 1549 the rite of Confirmation has

been printed quite separately from the Baptismal Office.

§ 4. *Private Baptism of Infants.*

The necessity of Baptism has brought with it the necessity of permitting that, in the case of dangerous sickness, it may be administered in a private house. The rubric directs that the formula of Baptism is to be preceded by 'so many of the Collects appointed to be said before in the Form of Public Baptism, as the time and present exigence will suffer.' The Sacrament is to be administered, if possible, by the minister of the parish, or 'in his absence by any other lawful minister that can be procured.' This does not confine the power to persons in holy orders. According to the unanimous teaching of the Catholic Church any person, man or woman, may administer Baptism if no priest is present. Lay Baptism is permitted, but discouraged except when it is unavoidable. Strange to say, the Puritans objected to it much more than members of the Church.

The service of 1549 is taken from the *Consultation* of Archbishop Hermann and from the Sarum Manual. The latter bids the lay folk to baptize with the words, 'I cristene the *N.* in the name of the Fadir, and of the Sone, and of the holy Ghost. Amen.' The child was to be *sprinkled* or dipped in the water thrice, or at least once. If the child lived he was brought to church, and the priest having diligently inquired to find out whether a valid form of Baptism had been employed, performed all the rites used in public Baptism except the immersion. If any doubt existed as to the validity of the Baptism, the priest sprinkled or immersed the child with the words, '*N.* If thou hast been baptized, I baptize thee not; but if thou hast not yet been baptized, I baptize thee: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' The

same rules and almost exactly the same formula are still retained in the Church of England.

The latter part of the Office consists of a somewhat abbreviated form of the public service. The objects of it are that the Baptism of the child may be publicly recognised, and that the sponsors may undertake their obligations on the child's behalf. In 1552 the investiture with the chrisom was omitted as in the public service; the questions to the sponsors 'Dost thou forsake,' etc., became 'Dost thou in the name of this child forsake,' etc., although the corresponding change had not then been made in public Baptism.

§ 5. *Baptism of those of riper years.*

This service was compiled in 1661 for two reasons, as stated in the fourth paragraph of the Preface to the Prayer Book: (1) To counteract 'the growth of Anabaptism, through the licentiousness of the late times crept in amongst us.' It is hardly necessary to say that the Anabaptists now call themselves Baptists, but the title Anabaptist is still perfectly correct, as they baptize 'again' persons who have been baptized by the Church in infancy; (2) 'for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted.' Plantations, now called colonies, began with Virginia in 1607. In England it is necessary to perform this rite in the case of converts from the Jews, or the Quakers, who reject the Sacraments, or the Unitarians, who deny the Trinity, or the Swedenborgians, who explain the doctrine of the Trinity in a heretical manner resembling that of the ancient Sabellians.

The service is based upon the service for the public Baptism of Infants. The rubrics are clear and simple; but it may be noted that, in accordance with very primitive usage, fasting with prayer is urged as a means of preparation for Baptism, and that the word 'dip,' as

in the Baptism of Infants, apparently does not necessarily mean 'immerse,' but dip so as to touch the water. The word 'mergere' in the mediæval books originally meant that the child was to be put into the font, but latterly both pouring and sprinkling were allowed.

CHAPTER IX

SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION

> To receive the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ with frequent devotion . . . and for better preparation thereunto, as occasion is, to disburthen and quiet our consciences of those sins that may grieve us, or scruples that may trouble us, to a learned and discreet priest, and from him to receive advice, and the benefit of absolution. Bishop Cosin, *Private Devotions*, A.D. 1626.

> It is a very pious preparation to the Holy Sacrament that we confess our sins to the minister of religion. Bishop Jeremy Taylor, *Works*, vol. vii. p. 484, A.D. 1655.

In the exhortation in the Communion Service the intending communicant 'who cannot quiet his own conscience' is invited to come to his parish priest, 'or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.' This passage in our Prayer Book is merely an abbreviated form of the exhortation contained in the *Order of the Communion* of 1548, in which this opening of grief to the parish priest is called 'auricular and secret confession,' and those who find this form of confession necessary are urged not to be offended with those who do not, and

vice versâ. Then come these excellent words, 'But in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity; and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, nor judging other men's minds or consciences; whereas he hath no warrant of God's Word to the same.'

It is exceedingly remarkable that this invitation to unburden the conscience remained in all the successive revisions of the English Prayer Book, and that after 1549 it was not even considered necessary to retain the warning that members of the Church should not criticise one another's action in respect of confession. The fact is that there was little or no necessity to defend its use. The words which were and are employed at the Ordination of every priest—'whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained'—made a misunderstanding almost impossible. The same words had been employed in the Ordination of Priests in the mediæval services, and they were intended in 1550 to bear the same meaning as before. It should also be observed that the phrase 'discreet and learned' is a technical expression which is now frequently used by the clergy without an exact appreciation of its meaning. 'Discreet,' or 'discreet and prudent,' is the mediæval term for an 'authorised' confessor. To suppose that the English Reformers, who had been authorised to hear confessions in the unreformed Church, did not know what the word meant, verges on the ridiculous. Every parish priest was entitled to hear confessions in his own parish, but not other priests, unless they had a special faculty from the bishop of the diocese. Such priests were 'discreet,' being regarded by the bishop as trained men competent to undertake the most difficult and trying duty of a Christian minister.

The unanimity of the great divines of the Church of England with regard to 'Confession and Absolution Sacramental' is so obvious that it requires little com-

ment. It may be doubted whether any serious diversity of opinion on the subject existed until the later Georgian period, when the clergy, having shirked some of their more irksome duties, began to be tempted to find reasons for their conduct. Bishop Ridley, who died in protest against Rome; Richard Hooker, who appealed to men's consecrated reasoning powers; Bishop Overall, the author of the latter part of the Catechism; George Herbert, the typical English priest and gentleman; Bishop Ken, who would not resign his conscience into the hands of William III.; Bishop Berkeley, the refined philosopher—all uphold the usefulness of auricular or 'particular' confession. He would be an unnatural son of the Church of England who could look with indifference upon such a roll of names. But it is a roll which can be indefinitely enlarged for the simple reason that men took, in their plain and Catholic meaning, the words contained in the Communion Service, and in the Visitation of the Sick. And with regard to the latter service, which contains the form of absolution ordinarily employed in the case of auricular confession, it may be fit to quote the reverent words of Dr. Donne, one of the ablest ecclesiastics of the time of James I.: 'We are to remember that every coming to the Communion is as serious a thing as our own transmigration out of the world, and we should do as much here for the settling of our consciences as upon our death-bed.'[1]

It is strictly forbidden to the clergy to reveal any matter made known to them in confession. The 113th Canon of 1603 says:—

> If any man confess his secret and hidden sins to the Minister . . . we do straitly charge and admonish him, that he do not reveal and make known to any person whatsoever any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy (except they be such crimes as by the laws of this realm his own life may be

[1] *Sermons*, lvi.

called into question for concealing the same), under pain of irregularity.[1]

If the conscientious physician regards himself as morally bound not to gossip about the facts which he learns in his professional capacity, much more is the clergyman bound by every conceivable moral and legal obligation not to make known the troubles and sins of those who have sought his absolution. In any case where there is any abuse of confidence the penitent should at once inform the bishop, who in such cases has the full right to withdraw the power of the priest to hear confessions.

It is difficult to realise how in this country it should ever be imagined, even by the most prejudiced, either that the clergy would wish to violate such confidence, or that clergymen and laymen alike do not frequently desire to avail themselves of confidential help. The growing complexity and the increased temptations of life, make it a matter of the utmost importance that all, and more especially the young and inexperienced, should know whither to turn when they need both the assurance of divine pardon and the guidance of human counsel. This assurance and this guidance are, as a matter of fact, perpetually being sought, and an immense number of lives would be saved from shipwreck if a larger number of persons in this country had been regularly taught to avail themselves of this means of grace. It is possible that an infinitesimal number of priests, like an infinitesimal number of qualified

[1] This canon was by no means a dead letter. The bishops of the seventeenth century in their visitation articles made careful inquiries to ensure the regular hearing of confessions by their parish priests. Thus Bishop Montague in 1638 inquires, 'Doth the minister exhort his parishioners to make confession of their sins to himself, or to some other learned, grave, and discreet minister, especially in Lent, against the holy time of Easter, that they may receive comfort and absolution, and so become worthy receivers of such sacred mysteries?' Express inquiries were made by the bishops as to any breach of secrecy on the part of priests.

physicians, misuse their power. But in England such a misuse is almost an impossibility. The clergyman who is not above suspicion in the eyes of his people knows that he is destitute of influence and that his private ministrations will never be required. The repulsive suggestions which have sometimes been made with regard to the method and results of private confession must always remain unjustifiable except in a country where the moral tone is universally low, where there is also compulsory celibacy among the clergy, and where private confession is always required before Communion if the intending communicant suspects that he has been guilty of any deadly sin.[1] There is probably not a country in Europe where all these three necessary conditions are fulfilled. They are certainly not fulfilled in Ireland. Nor are they fulfilled in France. No one was capable of giving better evidence on the subject than Renan, who was trained for the French priesthood, and then attacked the Church with every faculty at his command. Renan's testimony is unequivocal. He says, 'The fact is, that what people say about clerical morals is, so far as my experience goes, destitute of any foundation. I never saw the shadow of a scandal. . . . Confession may be attended in some countries with serious drawbacks. I did not see a trace of them in my ecclesiastical youth.'[2]

This, and more than this, is true of England. The standard of clerical morality is very high, compulsory celibacy does not exist in the Church of England, nor does the Church in any way deny that contrition for sin may be adequate without sacramental confession.

It may be added that the parochial clergy would do

[1] It is not strictly true to say that confession is 'compulsory' in the Roman Church, except at Easter, and whenever the penitent is conscious of having committed deadly sin.

[2] *Souvenirs*, p. 139.

much to protect themselves against misunderstanding if they clearly informed their people precisely when, and by whom, and where, confessions are heard in the churches under their care.

Note on Lay Confession.—In the Middle Ages, when a priest could not be found to hear a confession, penitents sometimes confessed their sins to a lay friend, who prayed for them though he could not pronounce absolution. The custom is sanctioned by the high authority of S. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa*, Suppl. iii. Partis, q. viii. a. 2) and Peter Lombard (*Sententiarum*, Lib. iv. dist. 17, q. ii.). In 1349, being a time of pestilence, the Bishop of Bath and Wells said that if no priest were present the dying were to confess to a layman or even to a woman, and in 1524 the famed Chevalier Bayard made his confession to his steward.

CHAPTER X

THE CATECHISM

Before the last revision of the Prayer Book, A.D. 1661, the Catechism was included in the Order of Confirmation. In the Books of Edward VI. and Elizabeth the title was, *Confirmation, wherein is contained a Catechism for Children.* In 1604 this was altered to *The Order of Confirmation, or laying on of hands upon children baptized, and able to render an account of their faith, according to the Catechism following;* with a further title to the Catechism itself, *that is to say, An Instruction to be learned of every Child, before he be brought to be confirmed of the Bishop.* The word 'catechism' is derived from κατηχέω and denotes *vivâ voce* instruction. In the chapter dealing with Baptism we have noticed how the converts were catechised in the primitive Church. The Sarum use contains no catechism, but requires children to be taught the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Hail Mary; and in A.D. 1281 it was ordered that parish priests should expound once a year the Ten Commandments in English. As there was a tendency to increase the interval between Baptism and Confirmation, it became more necessary that children who came to be confirmed should have received definite instruction. The authorship of the first part of the Catechism has been disputed. But it was almost certainly written by Alexander Nowell, who became master of West-

minster School in 1543, and was Dean of S. Paul's from 1560 to 1602. He was a fine scholar, a successful preacher, and an enthusiastic angler. The latter part of the Catechism was added after the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. It was composed by Overall, then Dean of S. Paul's, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich.

The Catechism contains three main divisions—

(1). The blessings of Baptism; and the nature of our baptismal vows, which are:
  The vow of Renunciation of the devil, the world, and the flesh.
  The vow of Faith: the Apostles' Creed and its explanation.
  The vow of Obedience to God's will: the Ten Commandments and their explanation in our duty towards God and our neighbours.

(2). The practice of Prayer: the Lord's Prayer and its explanation.

(3). The use of the Sacraments generally (*i.e.* universally) necessary to salvation.

The '*N.* or *M.*' at the beginning of the Catechism has puzzled multitudes of children. The initials are probably mere contractions of *Nomen* and *Nomina*, 'Name' and 'Names,' *M.* being an error for *NN.* But it is worth noticing that in the Banns read before the Solemnization of Matrimony, *M.* is used for the man's name and *N.* for the woman's. This dates from 1661, and seems to imply either that the meaning of *M.* was then forgotten, or that it was known to have always been a mere representative letter.

CHAPTER XI

THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION

> This belongs to the use and custom of the Anglican Church, according to the most ancient traditions founded upon the revealed word ; inasmuch as of old times among our forefathers, and in our days among our own selves it is a frequent practice to make the sign of the cross in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ ; both publicly in Baptism as we are commanded to do, and in the Confirmation of those who have been catechised, and in all the other Sacraments of the Church ; and also in our ordinary life and conversation. RICHARD MONTAGUE, Bishop of Chichester, *Origines Ecclesiasticae*, Tome i. Part 2, p. 79, A.D. 1636.

CONFIRMATION is, in accordance with the language of ancient Christendom, a sacred 'mystery' or 'sacrament,' ordained for the strengthening of the spiritual life. The Roman Catholic Council of Trent asserts it to have been 'ordained by Jesus Christ,' and apparently alleges this as a reason why it should be reckoned as a Sacrament. Our English Catechism adopts a similar view of the nature of a Sacrament, defining it 'ordained by Christ Himself,' but our 25th Article denies that Confirmation is one of the 'Sacraments of the Gospel,' because it has no visible sign 'ordained of God.' The difference between the Churches of England and of Rome on this point is little more than verbal. Both hold the same doctrine with regard to the nature of Confirmation, and both believe that it is based on the inspired authority of the New Testament. The question, therefore, as to whether we ought to draw a

distinction between a rite mentioned in 'the Gospel' and one mentioned elsewhere in the New Testament, and between a rite which Christ personally ordained and one which He ordained through the instrumentality of His apostles, is a comparatively trivial question. The word 'sacrament' was in primitive times vaguely applied to other mysteries besides those seven to which it became restricted in the language of the twelfth century. It was also used, in early times, as by our Articles, of the two eminent Sacraments of the Eucharist and Baptism. And Confirmation was so closely allied with Baptism that it was called a Sacrament when the vaguer use of the word was becoming extinct, and when it had not yet become the custom to restrict the word to seven rites only.

It is greatly to be regretted that the 25th Article is worded so carelessly. The Article suggests that Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction are all either the results of a corrupt following of the apostles, or are states of life allowed in the Scriptures. But it is quite obvious that Confirmation is not a 'state of life' or caused by a corrupt following of the apostles. It is true that in the Middle Ages certain innovations and corruptions were connected with the administration of Confirmation, Penance, Orders, and Extreme Unction, but the rites themselves are all of scriptural origin. In this volume these corruptions are pointed out and distinguished from the pure and ancient ceremonies.

Confirmation has the most express warrant of Holy Scripture. The apostles laid their hands upon the baptized in order that they might receive the Holy Ghost, and thereby become admitted to full communion with the Church created by the Holy Ghost upon the day of Pentecost. It appears that the Holy Ghost was imparted in different manners in the miraculous beginning of Christianity. The apostles

received the Holy Ghost from our Lord for their ministerial work of absolving the penitent when He appeared to them on the evening after His resurrection. Yet it was not until the day of Pentecost that the Holy Ghost descended to give them full power to witness to Christ. Similarly we find that the Holy Ghost is said in one instance to have been granted to the unbaptized[1]; but the whole tenor of the Acts of the Apostles suggests to us that the Holy Ghost was normally imparted by the laying on of the apostles' hands. His divine presence manifested itself in a rich variety of gifts, of which an account is given in 1 Corinthians. These new powers and joys are shown to be attended by the most serious responsibilities inasmuch as the Christian has become a temple of the Holy Ghost. Modern paganism is in the habit of asserting that Christianity depreciated the human body and its faculties. As a matter of fact, it exalted the human body to a position which it had never held before, by teaching men that it had been taken, limb for limb, by the Eternal God, and become the dwelling-place of the Lord and Giver of life.

Inasmuch as the first converts to the faith were generally adults, who, if they had been previously heathens, were carefully instructed in the truths of religion before their Baptism, Confirmation was administered immediately after Baptism. In describing the ancient baptismal service we have already described the ancient rite of Confirmation. The Eastern Church still administers Confirmation in this way both in the case of adults and of infants.

The age of candidates for Confirmation has varied greatly in the West. The ordinary mediæval English rule was that it should be received as soon as possible after Baptism. The difficulty of travelling to meet a bishop often caused an interval of some years to

[1] Acts x. 47.

elapse between Baptism and Confirmation, and the permissible age was raised from one to seven years. Bishops were allowed to confirm on the roadside if children presented themselves to them for that purpose. In 1604 the English rubric laid down no limit of age, but directed that candidates should be *able to render an account of their faith according to the Catechism following*. When the service was brought into its present form in 1661 these words were altered into *come to years of discretion*. The present Roman Catholic rule is the same as our own, but in some parts of Italy the custom of confirming infants still lingers. The custom of postponing Confirmation until the age of fourteen and upwards was certainly not contemplated by the authors of the Prayer Book. It was introduced within living memory into certain dioceses where the bishops found the children of the peasantry to be abnormally ignorant. Early in the eighteenth century and also early in the nineteenth children were confirmed at the age of eleven and upwards.

The Sarum Order of Confirmation is very brief and simple and may thus be translated:

The Confirmation of Children and other Baptized Persons.

First let the bishop say: Our help, etc. The Lord be with you. Let us pray.

Almighty everlasting God, Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate this Thy servant (*or* these Thy servants), by water and the Holy Spirit, and Who hast given to them remission of all sins: send upon them the sevenfold Spirit, the Holy Paraclete, from heaven. Amen. The Spirit of wisdom and understanding. Amen. The Spirit of knowledge and goodness. Amen The Spirit of counsel and strength. ✠ Amen. And fill them with the Spirit of the fear of the Lord. ✠ Amen. And sign them with the sign of the holy cross ✠ confirm them favourably with the chrism of salvation unto eternal life. Amen.

Then having inquired the name of each one and anointed his thumb with chrism, let the bishop make a cross on the forehead of

each separately, saying: I sign thee *N.* with the sign of the cross ✠ and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation. In the Name of the Father and of ✠ the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Let there follow the Psalm. Lo thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord. The Lord from out of Syon shall so bless thee that thou shalt see the prosperity of Jerusalem all thy life long. Glory be to the Father, etc. *Vers.* Send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be made. *Resp.* And thou shalt renew the face of the earth. Peace be to thee.

Let us pray.

O God, Who didst give unto Thine apostles the Holy Ghost, and Who didst will that He should be bestowed through them upon their successors and the rest of the faithful: favourably regard the family of our human nature, and grant that the hearts of these whose foreheads we have marked with the consecrated chrism, and signed with the sign of the holy cross, may be fitly perfected by the advent and indwelling of the same Holy Ghost to be a temple of His glory. Through our Lord, etc.

May the Almighty God, the Fa✠ther, and the ✠ Son, and the Holy ✠ Ghost bless you. Amen.

And if his age demand it, let the bishop communicate him, saying: The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and thy soul unto everlasting life.[1] Amen.

This being done let some priest enjoin that the godfathers and godmothers pray some set prayer for the good estate of the lord bishop, and for the souls of his father and mother, and for the souls of all the faithful departed, and that they come on the third day with the children to the church to lay down the chrisoms—and so let them depart in the Name of the Lord.

It will be observed that in this Sarum Office there is no definite mention of the laying on of hands. It is probable, however, that the bishop laid his hand upon the child's head while anointing his forehead with the thumb of the same hand. This was the old Italian custom as is shown in the Roman Pontifical printed at Venice in 1520. The Roman Pontifical of the year 1888 in a new Office for the confirmation of

[1] These words were taken by the Reformers for the words of administration in the Order of Communion. The mediæval English formula in ordinary use ran, 'preserve thy body unto everlasting life, and did not contain the words 'thy soul.'

one person directs this. But the ordinary Roman custom, when a larger number of persons is confirmed, is to omit the laying on of the hand while anointing, although the bishop extends his hands towards the candidates just previously.[1] The use of the sign of the cross in Confirmation was continued in England long after the Reformation. It is still retained in Scotland, where it was in use in the eighteenth century with the occasional addition of the Chrism.

The First English Prayer Book neither mentioned the use of Chrism nor forbade it. After the versicles and the first prayer the Office proceeded thus:

Minister. Sign them, O Lord, and mark them to be Thine for ever, by the virtue of Thy holy cross and passion. Confirm and strengthen them with the inward unction of Thy Holy Ghost, mercifully unto everlasting life. Amen. *Then the Bishop shall cross them in the forehead, and lay his hand upon their heads, saying: N.* I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and lay my hand upon thee: In the Name of the Father, etc. *And thus shall he do to every child one after another. And when he hath laid his hand upon every child, then shall he say,* The peace of the Lord abide with you. *Answer.* And with thy spirit.

The collect 'Almighty everliving God, Who makest us,' etc., was taken in 1549 from a collect in the Order of Confirmation of Archbishop Hermann of Cöln.

In 1552 the whole of this beautiful form from 'Sign them' to 'with thy spirit' was omitted, and there was inserted the present prayer:

Defend, O Lord, this child with Thy heavenly grace, that he may continue Thine for ever, and daily increase in Thy Holy Spirit more and more until he come unto Thy everlasting kingdom. Amen.

In 1661 the Office was expanded. The Our Father was inserted immediately after the laying on of the bishop's hand, and before the blessing was placed the

[1] Cf. the present Roman manner of ordaining a priest, see p. 265.

ancient collect, 'O almighty Lord, and everlasting God.' At the beginning of the Office there was printed the present rubric, preface, and interrogation by the bishop. This preface in the previous editions of the Prayer Book existed in the form of opening rubrics to the Order of Confirmation. The shifting of it in 1661 has led to a deplorable mistake. It states that children 'ratify and confirm' ('confess' 1549) when they come to the years of discretion what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in Baptism. So long as this statement occurred only in the rubrics it was hardly possible for it to cause any misunderstanding, as it came at the head of the Catechism which was printed as a preliminary to the Order of Confirmation. But the insertion of it in the actual Order of Confirmation had led the ignorant to confuse the two senses in which the word 'confirm' is employed, and even to imagine that the Church of England teaches that 'to be confirmed' by the Holy Spirit means no more than 'to confirm' by our own breath what our godparents promised.

It is to be feared that some of the clergy have been guilty of a mistake only less serious in requesting their bishop to permit the singing of a hymn immediately before the laying on of his hand. Inasmuch as the laying on of the hand depends directly upon the previous prayer for the gifts of the Spirit, such an interpolation is a liturgical error of the gravest kind. It is difficult to find a parallel to it except in the action of the ignorant bishops of the later Middle Ages, who recited the ancient Roman prayer for the ordination of a priest without any intention of ordaining the candidates until several additional ceremonies had been performed.

The rubric at the end of the service which enjoins that 'none shall be admitted to the Holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and

desirous to be confirmed,' corresponds almost precisely with the mediæval canon passed under Archbishop Peckham. It appears that in some parts of the Continent the Anglican clergy give Holy Communion to Presbyterians and German Lutherans. It should be remembered that both these denominations have repudiated the episcopate, and with it any genuine confirmation. It is therefore a direct violation of the rules of our Church to administer the Eucharist to such persons.

CHAPTER XII

THE FORM OF SOLEMNIZATION OF MATRIMONY

> A contract of eternal bond of love,
> Confirm'd by mutual joinder of your hands,
> Attested by the holy close of lips,
> Strengthen'd by interchangement of your rings,
> And all the ceremony of this compact
> Seal'd in my function, by my testimony.
>
> SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*, Act v. Sc. 1.

THE present Form of Solemnization of Matrimony differs very little from that issued in 1549, and it is substantially the same as that in the Sarum Manual, though influenced by the *Consultation* of Archbishop Hermann.

It seems that in the earliest ages of the Church there was no special benediction of Matrimony except a special Eucharist. The man and woman are themselves the ministers of Holy Matrimony, and their acceptance of one another as husband and wife in the presence of witnesses constitutes a valid marriage. The Roman bride as a sign of her marriage was covered with a flame-coloured veil; so S. Ambrose speaks of this *flammeum nuptiale*, and Pope Siricius speaks of marriage vows 'at which we were present at the veiling.'[1] Tertullian also about A.D. 210 speaks of the happiness of a marriage which the Church counsels, which the oblation of the Eucharist confirms, and a benediction seals.[2] The Leonine Sacramentary

[1] *Epp. Ambrosii*, 80. [2] *Ad Uxor.* ii. 9.

shows that in the sixth century there was at this Eucharist a prayer inserted before the consecration, and a short prayer and a long Eucharistic prayer after the Our Father and before the Fraction of the bread. These two latter prayers formed the benediction, and were pronounced while a veil was held over the man and his wife. This veil is distinct from the marriage veil of the bride. It is called by S. Ambrose 'the priestly veil,' and was commonly used until lately in France and Spain, though the fact that it has disappeared in Italy is causing its disappearance in other lands.

For several centuries at Rome, and perhaps still longer at Milan, no other religious service was held at a marriage than such a Eucharist as that which we have noticed. But the disappearance of paganism and the absorption of all social life into the Church caused the Roman civil ceremonies of marriage to become a part of ecclesiastical ritual. This is first shown in the reply of Pope Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians in A.D. 866. He divides the various ceremonies of marriage as follows:—

(1) The *sponsalia* or espousals, being the promise of of marriage with the consent of the parents;
(2) The *subarrhatio* or giving of the ring by the man to the woman;
(3) The conveying of the dowry by a written document in the presence of witnesses.

All this was preliminary. The actual marriage consisted of:—

(*a*) The Mass at which the man and the woman both take part in the Offertory and in the Communion;
(*b*) The benediction pronounced while the veil is held over their heads;
(*c*) The coronation as they leave the church. The crowns used were usually kept in the church.

All these ceremonies were the ancient Roman ceremonies, with the all-important exception that the Holy Eucharist was substituted for the worship of pagan gods with sacrifices of blood. The Roman bride and bridegroom both wore crowns of flowers, and in the West this custom has survived in the case of the bride. In the East large crowns of metal are worn by both husband and wife, and apparently such crowns were used at Rome in the time of Nicholas I.

The mediæval English Offices are midway between the rites of the ninth century and the modern form in which several of the old English features are preserved. The rites differed slightly in different dioceses, and the vernacular language was largely employed in this service. An interesting proof of the continued persistence of Norman French among the upper classes in this country is the fact that about 1200 a Council held at Durham directed the use of either French or English.

The priest, wearing alb and stole, met the man and woman at the church door. Hence Chaucer in describing the *Wife of Bath* says:—

> She was a worthy woman all hire live,
> Housbondes at the chirche dore had she had five.

But it is certain that as early as 1472 the service was sometimes begun in modern fashion within the body of the church at the chancel door. The priest gave a brief admonition in the mother tongue. The espousals then took place, the man saying, 'I *N.* take the *N.* to my wedded wyf to have and to holde fro this day forwarde for better, for wors, for richer, for poorer, in syknesse and in hele, tyl dethe us departe[1] if holy chyrche it woll ordeyne, and therto I plight the my trouthe.' In the woman's formula the present 'love, cherish, and obey' was represented by the words 'to be

[1] This sense of the word having become obsolete, 'depart' was in 1661 replaced by 'do part.'

bonere and buxum,' *i.e.* gentle and obedient—words which were already unintelligible at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The man then laid gold and silver and a ring upon a shield or upon the book. In 1549 these are called 'tokens of spousage.' This custom is retained by the English Roman Catholics. On the Continent a medal is sometimes used, and in some places the custom has been given up altogether. In 1552 the English rubric, which is still retained, refers to this money as 'the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk.' This rubric reveals two facts: first, that it was even previously to 1552 the custom to give these tokens to the priest and the clerk; secondly, that the wording of the present rubric has caused the origin of the custom to be forgotten. The money symbolises the same thing as the ring, to whatever purpose it may be devoted when the ceremony is over. The priest blessed the ring with holy water, and the man took it, saying 'With this ryng I the wed, and this gold and silver I the geve, and with my body I the worshipe,[1] and with all my worldely cathel I the endowe.' Placing the ring on the woman's thumb he said 'In the Name of the Father,' on the second (now called the first) finger he said 'And the Son,' on the third he said 'And of the Holy Ghost,' and on the fourth he said 'Amen.' There is a quaint Sarum rubric which explains that the ring is placed upon that finger because it contains a vein connected with the heart.

Having been twice blessed, the man and woman came to the 'altar step.' Psalm cxxviii. was then said, as now. They knelt or prostrated themselves, and the

[1] The Hereford form has 'honour.' In mediæval English 'worship' included almost any kind of honour or veneration. The lower sense of the word 'worship' is still preserved in the modern title 'worshipful.' A similar ambiguity attaches to *adorare* and προσκυνεῖν, and has been a fruitful cause of error.

Lord's Prayer, versicles and responses followed. Five collects then followed. The second besought God as 'God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob,' and the third referred to the sending of the angel Raphael to guard 'Tobias and Sara the daughter of Raguel.' In 1549 these two collects were compressed into one; and in 1552 the reference to 'Thobie and Sara the daughter of Raguel' (1549) was omitted as being taken from the Apocrypha. Then came a collect, of which 'O merciful Lord, and heavenly Father' in the present Office is an inferior version. The present final blessing referring to Adam and Eve is an appropriate fusion of the fifth Sarum collect and the subsequent benediction.

The Mass then began, the husband and wife being placed 'between the choir and the altar, on the north side of the church.' After the *Sanctus* the married pair knelt at the altar step, and the pallium or veil was held over them by four clerics until the *Agnus*, when the priest gave the pax to the husband and the husband kissed his wife. Immediately after the Fraction was given the solemn 'sacramental benediction,' in which the priest spoke of the mystical union between Christ and His Church. He then went on to offer a special prayer for the wife that she might be lovable as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, aged and faithful as Sara. Part of these prayers is preserved in the prayer 'O God, Who by Thy mighty power,' but in 1661 the reference to Rachel, Rebecca, and Sara was omitted. In some parts of England the husband and wife were given bread and wine to drink immediately after the Mass, in memory of the marriage feast at Cana.

In the wording of the service of 1549 one or two very interesting changes occur. Most of the opening address, which describes the three reasons for which Matrimony was instituted, does not occur in any known copy of the mediæval English books, but bears a striking resemblance to an address in a Parisian

Rituale of the seventeenth century, and similar forms are found in several continental books, both Catholic and Lutheran. Cranmer evidently derived it from a Lutheran ritual, probably that of Schwäbisch-Hall, and inserted it into some words of the Sarum use. It can be traced back in substance to the schoolmen, such as S. Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard.

Another remarkable addition is to be found in the words said by the priest on joining the hands of the bride and bridegroom: 'Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder.' The sentence is found in Hermann and some early Lutheran rituals, such as that drawn up in 1526 by Osiander. It is no doubt derived from mediæval forms used on the Continent. The Polish Catholics used it in the eighteenth century, and it occurs in the Ambrosian rituals.

From 1549 to 1661 it was the rule in the Church of England not only that there should be a celebration of the Eucharist, but also that the husband and wife should communicate according to primitive custom. In 1661 the rule was altered, and Communion, instead of being compulsory, was said to be 'convenient,' *i.e.* fitting. No doubt the alteration was due to the pious wish that the Holy Sacrament should never be profaned, but we may nevertheless regret that the Christian Church should have so lost her first love of Christ that the old rule should have become modified.

The service cannot be performed by a deacon, as the Church of England retains the primitive and mediæval rule that only a priest may pronounce the nuptial benedictions.

Note on the Wedding Ring.—There is a strange similarity between the modern English and the modern Roman custom with regard to the wedding ring. In both rites the husband places it immediately on the third finger of his wife's left hand. According to the mediæval English custom, it was placed on

the thumb and each finger of the *right* hand until it rested on the third finger (then called the 'fourth' finger). The English Roman Catholics, who have continued to use a modified form of the Sarum marriage service, kept the old English custom at least as late as the time of James II. They now, since at least 1759, have adopted the custom of placing the ring on the left hand, though they still place it on each finger in turn. The Roman books began to say definitely that the ring must be placed on the left hand about 1600, but the practice existed in Italy some time earlier. The direction to put the ring at once on the finger where it is intended to remain, occurs in the Roman *Sacerdotale* of 1537. Cranmer's adoption of this continental custom is very remarkable, and it is possible that both he and the Roman revisers were influenced by the Renaissance authors who described the ancients as wearing their rings on the left hand.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK, AND THE COMMUNION OF THE SICK

> Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,
> Unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd;
> No reckoning made, but sent to my account
> With all my imperfections on my head.
>
> SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, Act I. Sc. 5.

§ 1. *The Visitation of the Sick.*

THIS Office is based upon the beautiful Office in the use of Sarum. As the priest proceeded to the sick man's house the Seven Penitential Psalms were sung, concluding with the antiphon, 'Remember not, Lord.' When the priest had entered the house he said, 'Peace be to this house and to all that dwell therein: peace be to those that go in and to those that go forth.' Then the priest sprinkled the sick man with holy water, and a short series of versicles and responses followed, beginning with 'Lord have mercy,' 'Christ have mercy,' and continuing with the Lord's Prayer, and the sentences which are so well translated in our present Office. Then followed nine collects, of which only two were translated in 1549. These two prayers were somewhat altered when translated, and the second was further altered in 1661 when the reference to the apocryphal story of 'Thobie and Sara' was omitted.

The Office still continues on the lines of the mediæval rite. The priest was wont to say, 'Dearly beloved brother, give thanks to almighty God for all His benefits, patiently and gently bearing the weakness of body which He hath sent upon thee; for if thou endure it humbly without murmuring, it bringeth the greatest reward and health unto thy soul. And, dearly beloved brother, because thou must go the way of all flesh, be firm in the faith,' etc. The priest then expounded the articles of faith with regard to the Trinity and the Incarnation, or, if the sick man was unlearned, very briefly questioned him. He then urged him to do works of charity, to make amendment for the injuries which he had done, and forgive the injuries which he had received. Then he exhorted him to confess his sins:—

If thou desirest to attain to the vision of God, it entirely behoveth thee to be pure in mind and clean in conscience; for Christ saith in the Gospel, Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God. If therefore thou desirest to have a pure heart and whole conscience, confess all thy sins.

The priest then heard the sick man's confession and absolved him from all his sins. So also in our present Office the sick man is exhorted to repentance, forgiveness, and charity, and to dispose justly of his goods, if he has not already done so. After this comes the rubric *Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special Confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which Confession, the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort,*

Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

This form of absolution, so rich in the comfort of

the Gospel, and so close in its adherence to our Lord's own words, is followed by an adaptation of the ancient Gelasian absolution of a dying penitent; and the first part of the service then concludes.

The second part of the service now contains an ugly gap. The minister repeats the Psalm *In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust*, adding the exquisite mediæval antiphon, 'O Saviour of the world, Who by Thy Cross and precious Blood hast redeemed us, Save us, and help us, we humbly beseech Thee, O Lord.' Then he pronounces a benediction composed in 1549, and a second benediction which, with four occasional prayers, was added in 1661. In all this no single word is said about the anointing of the sick man to which the recitation of the aforesaid Psalm was formerly a preliminary. The scriptural practice of anointing the sick was retained throughout the Middle Ages, and by our own Reformers in 1549. It disappeared in the Calvinistic revision of 1552, and its disappearance throws a lurid light upon the attitude of English Puritanism towards traditions 'not repugnant to the word of God,' but in accordance with that word.

The duty of anointing the sick is expressly laid upon the presbyters in S. James v. 14-16: 'Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders of the church: and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, it shall be forgiven him. Confess therefore your sins one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.' Confession, prayer, and anointing are here mentioned side by side. In the second century some Gnostic heretics, who parodied the rites of the Church, are known to have anointed the *dying*, thereby perverting a rite intended for the recovery of the living. Very interesting is the fact of the recent discovery of a prayer for the

consecration of 'oil of the sick' among the prayers used by Bishop Serapion of Thmuis in Egypt about 350. This anointing is also directed in the *Apostolic Constitutions* about A.D. 375.

In the Eastern Church this rite has been maintained unimpaired unto the present day. In the Churches of Western Europe the anointing of the sick came to be known as Extreme or Last Unction, inasmuch as a Christian was anointed at Baptism and again at Confirmation, so that to be anointed in time of sickness was to receive the last kind of unction which was bestowed upon a Christian. The Sarum rite retained the temper of the primitive service. The prayers which it directs are prayers for the recovery, bodily and spiritual, of the sick man, and it is plainly laid down that the anointing may be repeated if necessary. In spite of the unmistakable meaning of the words employed, it is probable that it was often used as an unction *in extremis*, and administered to those who were obviously dying. This popular burlesque of the rite still exists on the Continent of Europe. The Abbé Gratry, one of the brightest ornaments of French Catholicism in the nineteenth century, denounced in burning words this practice of administering Unction to 'corpses.'[1]

The English Prayer Book of 1549 contains the following form of anointing: *If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the cross, saying thus:*

As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed: so our heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of His infinite goodness that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, Who is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness: and vouchsafe for His great mercy (if it be His blessed will) to restore unto thee thy bodily health, and strength, to serve Him; and send thee release of all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in body and mind. And howsoever His goodness

[1] *Philosophie du Credo*, p. 238.

(by His divine and unsearchable providence) shall dispose of thee: we, His unworthy ministers and servants, humbly beseech the Eternal Majesty to do with thee according to the multitude of His innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins, and offences, committed by all thy bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections: Who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength by His Holy Spirit to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory and triumph against the devil, sin, and death, through Christ our Lord: Who by His death hath overcomed the prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth God, world without end. Amen. *Usque quo Domine*, Ps. xiii.

Although this Last Unction has been called 'the lost Pleiad of the Anglican firmament,' it should be remembered that the English Church is not the only branch of the Church Universal which has neglected it after misusing it. The Church of Rome for a long time permitted the abeyance of Unction of the sick among the Uniate Armenians (*i.e.* Armenians retaining Armenian rites but accepting Roman doctrine), the Armenians having formerly been in the habit of post-poning Penitence with the idea that their sins would be remitted by Unction.[1] It would have been wiser of the clergy both in England and Armenia to explain the rite of Unction instead of abolishing it. The Uniate Armenians have already restored it, and there are now several Anglican dioceses where it has recently been revived with the bishop's sanction.

It is practically certain that some of the Scottish bishops in the eighteenth century consecrated oil not only for the chrism used in Confirmation, but also for the unction of the sick. There was long preserved a case which had belonged to Bishop Alexander of Dunkeld, and contained two vials, one for Confirmation and another for Unction.[2]

[1] Issaverdenz, *Rites et Cérémonies* (Venise, 1876), p. 62.
[2] Walker, *Life and Times of Dean Skinner*, p. 120 (Skeffington, London, 1883).

§ 2. *The Communion of the Sick.*

The Office for the Visitation of the Sick is followed in the Book of Common Prayer by the Office for the Communion of the Sick, which it is permitted to combine with the former Office. A lengthy rubric precedes the service, saying that 'if the sick person be not able to come to the Church, and yet is desirous to receive the Communion in his house; then he must give timely notice to the Curate, signifying also how many there are to communicate with him (which shall be three, or two at the least), and having a convenient place in the sick man's house, with all things necessary so prepared, that the Curate may reverently minister,' etc. A special collect opens the service, followed by an Epistle, from Heb. xii. 5, and a Gospel, from S. John v. 24. The priest is then to proceed according to the form prescribed for a public celebration of the Holy Communion, beginning at the words *Ye that do truly*, etc., and apparently continuing to the end of the Office. The companions of the sick person are to receive the Communion immediately after the celebrant, and last of all the sick person. Such are the directions contained in the *first two* of the *five rubrics* that are printed at the end of the Office. The *third* of these rubrics points to spiritual communion as a true partaking of the Body and Blood of our Saviour granted to those who are in a state of grace, but are unable to receive the Sacrament; the *fourth* rubric directs that the form of the Visitation of the Sick may be abbreviated if the sick person is visited and receives the Holy Communion 'all at one time'; the *fifth* rubric says that 'in the time of the Plague, Sweat, or such other like contagious times of sickness or diseases' the minister may communicate alone with the diseased person.

The present Office is derived from that of 1549, which is as follows:—

O praise the Lord, all ye nations, laud Him, all ye people; for His merciful kindness is confirmed towards us, and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Glory be to the Father, etc.

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
} *Without any more repetition.*

The Priest. The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with thy spirit.
Let us pray. Almighty everliving God, etc.
The Epistle. Heb. xii. My son, despise not, etc.
The Gospel. John v. Verily, verily, etc.
The Preface. The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts, etc., *unto the end of the Canon.*[1]

It should be observed that in 1549 this Office for the celebration of the Mass in the house of a sick person was somewhat of the nature of a novelty, and it was only intended as an alternative for the older practice.[2] The rubric directed that if a sick person was to receive the Communion on the same day in which there was a celebration in the church (and in most churches there would be a celebration every day), the priest should reserve so much of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood as should serve the sick person, and so many as should communicate with him, if there were any. The portion intended for reservation would in all probability be put aside in a pyx or other seemly vessel immediately after the priest communicated himself at the Eucharist. The service employed in communicating a sick person with the reserved Sacrament was, *the general Confession, the Absolution, with the comfortable sentences of Scripture, the distribution of the Holy Communion*, and *the Collect* 'Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank Thee,' etc.

This practice of reserving the Holy Sacrament for

[1] That is, probably, unto the end of the *Our Father.*
[2] It had, however, been common to say other Masses in houses.

those unable to communicate in church dates from a remote antiquity. In the earliest complete account of the Eucharist, that written by Justin Martyr about A.D. 152, it is expressly said that the deacons took the Sacrament to those who were not present. It is difficult to say whether the statement of Justin Martyr implies that the Sacrament was reserved only for immediate use, or also for use after a longer period. In any case it is plain that the celebrant reserved the Sacrament for the purpose of communicating the absent. An instance of reservation about the year A.D. 250 implies continuous reservation of the Sacrament. The story occurs in a letter written by the famous Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria.[1] It relates that a certain Sarapion having lapsed from the faith, was seized with sickness, and thereupon his faith returned, and he sent a boy to the priest to ask that he might have the Holy Communion. The boy ran to the priest, but the priest was also sick and could not go; but having the Holy Sacrament reserved, he took a portion, which he entrusted to the messenger. The Sacrament was brought to Sarapion, and administered just in time for him to receive it before he died. The 13th Canon of the First Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, the first General Council of the Church, regards it of great importance that the dying should not be deprived of the consolation of the last 'food for the journey'—in Greek ἐφόδιον, in Latin *Viaticum*. The Canon certainly implies that such provision should be made that there should be no risk of the Church failing to provide this Viaticum, and it can scarcely be doubted that continuous reservation is meant. It is certain that such reservation was practised during the fourth century in Africa, and at the cathedral church at Constantinople in A.D. 403, and it can be traced throughout the whole Catholic Church.

[1] Eusebius, *H.E.*, vi. 44.

An early instance of reservation in England is implied in the story related by Bede of the death of Caedmon, the poet of Whitby. He was seized with sudden sickness, and asked the monks if they had the Eucharist in the chapel or within the house. It was brought to him, and he received it before dying. The principle of continuous reservation of the Sacrament was repeatedly recognised in the Church of England, the reservation being suitably regulated by laws which forbade the Sacrament to be reserved for more than a week after consecration, and commanded it to be carried to the sick by a priest, or at least by a deacon, and directed it to be carried with fitting dignity and ceremonial. Suitable places were made for the reserved Sacrament in the churches. In Rome and in Scotland it was usual to reserve it in a handsome niche or cupboard in the chancel wall; sometimes it was placed in a little stone tower, delicately carved, such as may be seen at Léau in Belgium and at S. Sebald's, Nürnberg; frequently it was suspended over the altar in a hanging pyx of precious metal. These pyxes were occasionally made in the form of a dove, such as that still used at Amiens in France. Several of these ancient doves are still in existence. It is worth noting that in the Anglo-Saxon Church, as in the Eastern Church, the Holy Sacrament was not carried in procession for the purpose of encouraging the people to adore the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Nor did the Church of England at any period employ the rite known as Benediction. This rite took its rise in Italy during the sixteenth century, and consists in placing the reserved Sacrament upon an altar while incense is offered and litanies recited, after which the priest holds the Sacrament over the congregation in token of the divine benediction. Neither priest nor people communicated at

Benediction, the service being totally distinct from the celebration of the Eucharist, though sometimes appended to it.

Putting aside all further consideration of reservation for Benediction and similar rites, which have neither primitive authority nor the Ecumenical sanction of the whole Church, it remains to ask whether reservation *for the sick* is not still lawful as well as necessary in the Church of England.

Of its practical necessity there can be no doubt. A private celebration of the Eucharist, where the conditions laid down by the Prayer Book can be fulfilled, is both right and edifying. Such a service has been described by the angelic genius of Mr. Keble:—

> A simple altar by the bed
> For high Communion meetly spread,
> Chalice, and plate, and snowy vest.—
> We ate and drank: then calmly blest,
> All mourners, one with dying breath,
> We sate and talk'd of Jesus' death.

But there are numberless instances where the conditions laid down in the rubrics for such a celebration cannot be fulfilled. Few members of the Church of England will dispute the opinion of the eminent Roman theologians who hold that a priest may celebrate non-fasting if he celebrates at a late hour of the day in order to give the Viaticum to the dying. But such a relaxation of a rule does not remove all difficulties. A private celebration is far too long for a person at the point of death, as well as for persons exhausted by such maladies as consumption or heart disease. These sufferers sometimes earnestly desire Holy Communion, but cannot receive it if they have to wait for a fresh consecration of the Sacrament. In times of infectious disease, the priest runs a great risk of carrying the infection to his other parishioners if he celebrates in the sick man's house. And lastly, in the

crowded and heathen tenements of our large towns, it is frequently impossible to celebrate with decency or quiet, or to secure two persons to communicate with the sick person. These circumstances demand reservation for the sick, and in the Episcopal Church of Scotland, with which the Church of England is in full communion, such reservation has been continued for generations.

It has also the primitive and Ecumenical authority of the undivided Church which the Church of England is so peculiarly bound to maintain. In point of view of both law and charity it must be maintained that only the most explicit and precise prohibition by the whole authority of the Church of England could render such a practice unlawful in the Church of England. Our formularies contain no such prohibition, but certain objections raised against the legality of reservation must be noticed.

It is maintained that (1) the sixth rubric at the end of the Communion Service, inserted in 1661, forbids reservation because it forbids the Sacrament to be 'carried out of the Church,' and orders it to be 'reverently' consumed. But the argument drawn from this rubric melts into air upon examination. The rubric was inserted at the advice of Bishop Cosin and Bishop Wren. They intended it to strike not at reservation but at irreverence.[1] We have records of certain profane clergymen of the seventeenth century, who consecrated a large quantity of bread and wine,

[1] Wren, having mentioned that at Westminster, 'if I remember aright,' and elsewhere, 'plain wafers have ever been used' for the Communion, suggested the following rubric:—*What remaineth of the Bread of any Loaf or Wafer that was broken for the use of the Communion, or of the Wine that was poured out, or had the Benediction, the Curate shall, after the Service is ended, take some of the Communicants to him, there to eat and drink the same. But all the rest in both kinds*, the Curate shall have to his own use.—Jacobson, *Fragmentary Illustrations of the History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 84.

and then removed the surplus not required for Communion to their own houses. The rubric put a stop to this profanity, and is similar to a rubric directing the consumption of the elements in the Sarum Missal, which certainly did not intend to forbid reservation.

It is maintained that (2) reservation is forbidden by the 28th Article, which says that 'the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.' Here once more it is contemporary history which must be studied. The extreme rarity of communions at the end of the Middle Ages resulted in the fact that the reservation of the Sacrament existed almost entirely for the sake of the worship of the Sacrament. Against such a change it was necessary to protest, and to assert that the Eucharist was ordained for those very purposes which recent customs had overshadowed. The Article does not say that reservation is wrong or blasphemous like certain other mediæval practices. And that it was not understood as an absolute prohibition of reservation is shown by the fact that reservation is provided for by the Latin Prayer Book of 1560. We may notice that Bishop Sparrow in his *Rationale*, of which the earliest extant copies are dated A.D. 1657, seems to be wholly unconscious that the 28th Article could be quoted against such reservation. He observes that the Prayer Book then in use (that of 1604) does not direct how much of the Communion Service shall be used for the Communion of the sick, and he refers to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. as showing what ought to be done in such a case. It is perfectly plain that he could not have referred to the direction to reserve the Sacrament if he had thought that the Article prohibited it. It has been said that reservation is at least indirectly prohibited, because the Article implies that reservation is using for one purpose a Sacrament which Christ ordained for

another purpose. But reservation for *Communion* is not using for one purpose what Christ ordained for another, and therefore it does not come under any such prohibition.

Finally, it has been supposed that the Prayer Book attaches less importance than the mediæval books to sacramental communion, and shows that reservation is not to be regarded as necessary (when the Eucharist cannot be celebrated) on account of the third rubric after the Office of the Communion of the Sick. This rubric asserts that the sick man, if truly believing and repentant, but unable to receive the Sacrament, nevertheless 'doth eat and drink the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health.' The reply to this ignorant argument is simple. The rubric is actually derived from the Sarum Manual, which taught precisely the same doctrine.[1] And our reformers, instead of attaching less importance to Communion than the later mediævalists, insisted on a minimum of *three* communions a year instead of *one*.

In mediæval times it was not uncommon for those who were dying, and could not obtain the Eucharist, to make a symbolical communion. Three blades of grass were sometimes used for this purpose. The *Chronicle of Gaimer* (A.D. 1148) shows how William Rufus acted as he was dying in the New Forest:—

> Four times he cried out
> And asked for the *Corpus Domini*,
> But there was no one to give it to him;
> He was in a waste, far from a minister.

Nevertheless, we are told, a hunter

> Took some herbs with all their flowers,
> And made the king eat a few of them,
> This he considered the Communion.

[1] It is only fair to add that the present Office extends the limits of the circumstances under which sacramental communion may be omitted.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ORDER FOR THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

> Prayer for the resurrection, public acquittal in the day of judgment, and perfect consummation, and bliss of them that are fallen asleep in the sleep of death, is an apostolical tradition. RICHARD FIELD, Dean of Gloucester, *Of the Church*, vol. iv. p. 262 A.D. 1606-1610.

§ 1. *The Mediæval Rites.*

THE man is little to be envied who can read without emotion the mediæval English services for the dead. If the length of these services arouses our surprise, it also arouses our admiration for the affection which it displays for those who have gone to be with Christ. In early days the body of the departed Christian was reverently buried—never burned after the pagan Roman fashion—and the Holy Eucharist was celebrated with the intention of beseeching for him light and peace. The Canons of Hippolytus refer to this custom, and also mention the love-feast which was held after the Eucharist. The Gelasian Sacramentary contains a number of Masses to be said for the departed at different intervals, and also prayers said before the body is carried out for burial, and others to be used at the grave. The growth of the Divine Office was followed by the growth of a special Office of the dead, and the *Placebo* and *Dirge* of this service have already been mentioned in our account of the Primer. In

addition to the Mass and the Divine Service for the dead and the prayers at the burial, it was the custom in England to say a long *Commendatio Animarum.* This is distinct from the pathetic litany known as the *Commendatio Animae in Articulo Mortis* repeated while the dying Christian gave up the ghost. It was said as soon as possible after death, partly in the house and partly in the church to which the body was taken. And it is difficult to say which is the more clearly revealed, the sense of piety or the sense of beauty, in a service which contains such antiphons, psalms, and prayers. The pleading refrain 'May Christ Who called thee receive thee, and may the angels lead thee unto Abraham's bosom' is mingled with the triumphant song 'When Israel came out of Egypt,' and with the hope that the soul of the departed may be crowned among the martyrs, and gain the joy of God amid the gleaming stones of Paradise.

The *Inhumatio Defuncti* or Burial of the Dead was performed when Mass was done, the priest wearing an alb and no cope. This long service began with an antiphon, the Kyrie, and prayers. The priest asked those present to pray for the soul of the dead, and the first section of the service ended with this collect:—

Incline, O Lord, Thine ear unto our prayer in which we humbly entreat Thy mercy that the soul of Thy servant which Thou hast commanded to depart from this world, may be placed by Thee in the region of peace and light, and bidden to be numbered among Thy saints.

The body was then carried to the grave, the choir singing Psalm cxiv., and, if time permitted, Psalm xxv. The grave was opened, another Psalm was sung, and the antiphon 'Open unto me the gates of righteousness and I will enter into them and confess unto the Lord: this is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it.' The grave was blessed, sprinkled with holy water, and censed, and the body placed therein,

while the Psalm was sung 'Like as the hart desireth the water brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God.'

After the body was lowered the grave was sprinkled with holy water, the priest scattered earth upon the body in the form of the cross, then censed it and sprinkled holy water upon it, a Psalm and antiphon being sung. Then the priest said, 'I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in the Name of the Father,' etc. More prayers were said, then Psalms cxlviii., cxlix., cl., and the Benedictus, followed by the antiphon, 'I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth on Me though he were dead shall live, and every one that liveth and believeth on Me shall not die for ever.' The Psalm *Miserere* followed shortly afterwards. The final collect was:—

> O God, by Whose mercy the souls of the faithful are at rest, to the souls of Thy servants and handmaidens who here and in all places repose in Christ, favourably grant the pardon of their sins, that absolved from all offences they may with Thee rejoice without end.

Praying that the Lord would grant to the departed everlasting rest, and that perpetual light might shine upon them, the mourners went away.

Such were the rites with which our forefathers were put to sleep in the green churchyards of England:—

> There scattered oft the earliest of the year,
> By hands unseen, are showers of violets found;
> The redbreast loves to build and warble there,
> And little footsteps lightly print the ground.

§ 2. *The Reformed Rites.*

The Burial Service of 1549 is much shorter than the mediæval rite, and is rather a compilation from various services for the dead than a translation of the *Inhumatio*

Defuncti. No service is provided to be said in the house of the dead. The priest met the corpse at the 'Church stile,' and the body was carried either to the church or to the grave, the priests saying, or the priests and clerks singing, 'I am the Resurrection,' 'I know that my Redeemer,' 'We brought nothing into the world.'[1] The first sentence is the old antiphon to the Benedictus, the second is the respond after the first lesson in the first Nocturn in Mattins for the Dead, and the third was appropriately added by the compilers. At the grave were sung the words 'Man that is born,' which is from the fifth lesson in the Sarum Mattins for the Dead, followed by the antiphon 'In the midst of life,' which is based upon the Lenten antiphon to the Nunc dimittis in the Sarum Breviary. This antiphon is of ancient origin, and its use in the Burial Service was probably suggested by its use in Hermann's Consultation. Cranmer's version is partly derived from the Latin, and partly from a metrical translation by Coverdale of Luther's paraphrase of the Latin.[2] The priest was directed to cast earth upon the corpse with the commendation of 'earth to earth, ashes to ashes,' followed by the antiphon 'I heard a voice,' which was the antiphon to the Magnificat in the Sarum Evensong for the Dead. Then followed two fine prayers, the first of which is as follows:—

We commend into Thy hands of mercy (most merciful Father) the soul of this our brother departed, *N.* And his body we commit to the earth, beseeching Thine infinite goodness, to give us grace to live in Thy fear and love, and to die in Thy favour: that when the judgment shall come, which Thou hast committed to Thy well-beloved Son, both this our brother, and we may be found acceptable in Thy sight, and receive that blessing which Thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and

[1] It was the sweet old English custom for each mourner to carry a sprig of rosemary, an emblem of the Resurrection. This was general in the seventeenth century.

[2] See Dr. Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, p. 161.

fear Thee, saying: Come, ye blessed Children of My Father Receive the kingdom prepared for you before the beginning of the world. Grant this, merciful Father, for the honour of Jesu Christ, our only Saviour, Mediator, and Advocate. Amen.

The second prayer is from the order of Hermann of Cöln.

After the service at the grave[1] there was printed a service to be performed in church either before or after the burial. It consisted of Psalms cxvi., cxlvi., cxxxix., the lesson from 1 Cor. xv. 26 to the end (part of which was an alternative Epistle in the Sarum Mass for the Dead), the Kyrie, Lord's Prayer, and the following suffrages from the Sarum order:—

Priest. Enter not (O Lord) into judgment with Thy servant.
Answer. For in thy sight no living creature shall be justified.
Priest. From the gates of hell.
Answer. Deliver their souls, O Lord.
Priest. I believe to see the goodness of the Lord.
Answer. In the land of the living.
Priest. O Lord, graciously hear my prayer.
Answer. And let my cry come unto Thee.

The whole concluded with a long prayer, beginning 'O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead.' The beginning of the prayer is taken from one in the Sarum order, and the rest of it shows the influence of other Sarum prayers.

Immediately afterwards follows *The Celebration of the Holy Communion when there is a Burial of the Dead.* The Introit is Psalm xlii., which occurs not in the Sarum Mass but in the *Inhumatio.* The Collect is practically the same as the last Collect in our present

[1] It has been the immemorial custom to lay the body with its feet eastward, turned towards the dawn. In some places there has been introduced the custom of burying the bodies of the clergy westward. This custom seems to have been adopted during the period of the Renaissance, and has become connected with the idea that the priest must face his people at the Resurrection.

order, the Epistle is 1 Thess. iv. 13 ff., and the Gospel is S. John vi. 35-41.

In 1552 there came a violent change. Prayers for the faithful departed, and indeed all words concerning the departed, were omitted from the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church in the Communion Service, and the Order for the Burial of the Dead was modified in such a way as to greatly discourage such prayers. To appreciate the meaning of this change it must be remembered that the Calvinists denied that there was any intermediate place between this life and heaven, and naturally did not pray for people whom they believed to be already in heaven and past praying for. It is difficult to imagine how such an extraordinary idea could have arisen, when our Lord in the most explicit language said that He, with the penitent thief, would enter paradise on the third day before His resurrection, and more than forty days before He entered heaven. But the superstition took such deep root that it has been given a place of honour in the Presbyterian *Westminster Confession*, and in many English parishes it is by no means eradicated at the present day. That so widely read a man as Cranmer could have accepted a notion so wholly foreign to the writers of the first ages of the Church is almost incredible, and the order of 1552 shows that he made an effort to preserve a prayer for the dead in a form calculated to attract as little attention as possible. The last collect of the order of 1549 appeared in the following form :—

Almighty God, with Whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and in Whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity : we give Thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased Thee to deliver this *N.*, our brother, out of the miseries of this sinful world; beseeching Thee, that it may please Thee of Thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of Thine elect, and to haste Thy kingdom ; that we with this our

brother, and all other departed in the true faith of Thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in Thy eternal and everlasting glory. Amen.

The rest of the service was mutilated by the omission of all the Psalms and suffrages. No direction was given to enter the church, and the celebration of the Holy Communion was ignored. Instead of the priest being told to cast earth upon the body, the act is to be performed 'by some standing by.'

It should be observed that, although the Burial Service of 1559 is the same as that of 1552, Elizabeth's Primer of 1559 contains distinct prayers for the dead, and that the Office of the Dead contained in the Primer and a celebration for the dead were performed in the most public manner at Elizabeth's command, as already noticed on p. 121.

In 1661 a rubric was prefixed, directing that the Office should not be used for any who have died unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves. The element of psalmody, expelled in 1552, was restored by directing that Psalm xxxix. or xc., or both, should be read in the church before going to the grave. The lesson from 1 Cor. xv. was now to be read after the Psalms and not after the burial. In the committal of the body, the passage 'sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life' was modified by the insertion of 'the' before 'resurrection.'

A similar change was made in the collect which has been quoted above. The words 'that we with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of Thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation' were altered to 'that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of Thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation.' The reason for this is recorded by Wheatly. The Puritans protested, very reasonably, 'against all that expressed any assurance of the deceased party's happiness, which they did

not think proper to be said indifferently over all that died.' On that ground, and not because the prayer is a prayer for the dead, the bishops abbreviated the clause. Wheatly does not doubt that it is a prayer for the dead. He says:—

> We pray (as it is now) that 'we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of God's holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss'; which is not barely a supposition that all those who are so departed *will* have their perfect consummation and bliss, but a prayer also that they *may* have it.[1]

The duty of prayer for the dead was repeatedly inculcated by the great divines of the Church of England until the revival of Calvinism in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Numerous illustrations might be given of the practice, but it will suffice to give a translation of the beautiful epitaph of the good Bishop Barrow, A.D. 1680:—

> The remains of Isaac, Bishop of St. Asaph, laid in the hand of God, in the hope of a joyful resurrection, through the merits of Christ alone. O ye that pass by into the house of the Lord, the house of prayer, pray for your fellow-servant that he may find mercy in the day of the Lord.

There can be no reasonable doubt that:—(1) The Christian Church inherited prayers for the dead, with our Lord's tacit or explicit sanction, from the Jewish Church, which still employs them; (2) the whole Christian Church has sanctioned them, not one ancient liturgy being without them; (3) the Church of England permits them. The Church of England in Article xxii. condemns, and justly condemns, 'the Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory.' That is to say, it condemns the ordinary doctrine held in the middle of the sixteenth century by the Christians who believed in the supremacy of the Pope. That doctrine taught

[1] Wheatly, *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 509 (fourth edition, 1722).

that the intermediate state is a place of torment, and that souls are continually passing from purgatory to heaven, before the day of resurrection, in virtue of the application to them of prayers and 'indulgences' by their friends on earth. This extraordinary perversion of the original teaching of the Church survives in the coarser forms of modern Romanism, and to some extent even in its best forms. It may be illustrated by the fact that whereas the venerable Canon of the Roman Mass prays for the servants of God 'who rest in the sleep of peace,' Father Faber of the Brompton Oratory, now the headquarters of English Romanism, quotes as 'true,' though not 'complete,' descriptions of the intermediate state which describe it as 'simply a hell which is not eternal. Violence, confusion, wailing, horror. . . . The fire is the same fire as that of hell, created for the single and express purpose of giving torture.'[1]

No more telling illustration could be given of the fact that 'the Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory' is not the same as 'the Primitive doctrine concerning Paradise,' and that the 22nd Article in condemning one cannot possibly mean to condemn the other. Only one thing more is needed to put the matter outside the area of controversy. It is that a rough draft of the Articles of the Church of England contained a condemnation of prayers for the dead, and that this was omitted in every authentic edition of the Articles both in English and Latin.[2]

[1] *All for Jesus*, pp. 364-366 (ninth edit.).

[2] Charles Hardwick, *History of the Articles of Religion*, p. 304 (Cambridge, 1859).

CHAPTER XV

THE THANKSGIVING OF WOMEN AFTER CHILD-BIRTH[1]

In the Sarum Manual this rite is called the *Order for the Purification of a woman after child-birth before the door of the church.* The service was very short, consisting of Psalms cxxi. 'I will lift up mine eyes,' cxxviii. 'Blessed are all they,' the Kyrie, the Lord's Prayer, suffrages, and a prayer. The woman was then sprinkled with holy water, and the priest, taking her by the right hand, led her into the church, saying 'Enter into the temple of God, that thou mayest have eternal life, and live for ever. Amen.' According to the York Manual, the woman was led into the church at the beginning of the service. Some old English books contain a strong protest against the vulgar superstition that women might not 'enter holy chirche to thanke theyr god' as soon as they liked after child-birth.

In 1549 the service was called the *Order of the Purification of Women.* The rubric directed the woman to come into the church, according to the mediæval use of York. She was to kneel down 'in some convenient place, nigh unto the quire door.' The

[1] In the Manx Gaelic version of 1610 this service is called *Losky na Kannil*, the Burning of the Candle (cf. the Manx name for the Feast of the Purification, *Lail More na Kannil*, the festal day of Mary of the Candle). This refers to the old custom of women bearing a lighted candle when they were 'churched,' and may imply that the custom was continued after the Reformation.

idea of thanksgiving, which was not expressed in the Sarum rite, was now made prominent in the brief address at the beginning of the service. Psalm cxxi. was the only one used, and the rest of the service proceeded as before. An interesting instance of the fact that before the Reformation the 'omission' of a rubric commanding a practice was not regarded as a 'prohibition' is to be found in the rubric at the end of the service of 1549. It directs that the woman shall 'offer her chrisom [*i.e.* her child's baptismal robe] and other accustomed offerings.' This direction does not occur in the Sarum Manual, but it affords plain proof that the offering was customary when the Sarum Manual was employed.

In 1552 the title of the service was altered to what it now is, *The Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth, commonly called the Churching of Women.* The word 'Purification,' which was likely to be misunderstood, was now omitted. In the same way the final rubric was altered from 'the woman that is purified,' etc., to 'the woman that cometh to give her thanks.' There was no more mention of the chrisom. Instead of kneeling nigh unto the quire door, the woman kneels 'nigh unto the place where the table standeth.'

In 1661 the Psalms cxvi. and cxxvii. were substituted for Psalm cxxi. The direction that the woman should kneel 'nigh unto the place where the table standeth' was omitted from the opening rubric, which now directs that the woman 'shall come into the church decently apparelled.' This refers to the old custom that the woman should wear a white veil. Such veils were worn before the Reformation, and were still worn in the seventeenth century, and, in fact, regarded as compulsory.[1] It seems probable that during the per-

[1] Bishop Sparrow in the *Rationale*, A.D. 1657, says 'the woman that is to be churched is to have a veil.' Wheatly, *Op. cit.*, shows that

secution of the Church under the Commonwealth the rule was sometimes disregarded, and that it was necessary to enforce it again in 1661. The clergy would do well to provide such a veil for the poorer members of their flock.

According to a seemly old rule, the woman should be accompanied by two matrons.

in the reign of James I. a woman was excommunicated for refusing to wear the veil. In 1662 Bishop Wren, in his visitation of the diocese of Ely, inquired whether women came to be churched veiled according to ancient custom.

CHAPTER XVI

A COMMINATION

This service is a substitute for the primitive discipline of penitent sinners which began on the first day of Lent, and is a modified survival of the later mediæval rites for that day. The institution of Lent dates from the fourth century, and it was in its origin simply a period set apart for the instruction of catechumens and the discipline of repentant sinners. The latter were treated in a manner very similar to the treatment of catechumens. The number of days over which Lent extended varied in different countries, but there was a steady tendency in the fourth century for all Christians to join in the prayers and fasts of the penitents, and out of this noble and instinctive sympathy Lent, as we now know it, had its rise.

The rites of Ash Wednesday are first described in the Gelasian Sacramentary, where we learn that before the 'stational' Mass the penitents presented themselves to a priest who clothed them with sackcloth. On Maundy Thursday they were solemnly restored to communion. At the beginning of the Mass the penitents were introduced by a deacon, who expressed their sorrow for sin, and the Pope offered a beautiful prayer for their pardon. By the ninth century the custom of reconciling the penitents in this manner had disappeared at Rome, and by the twelfth century an entirely new conception was attached to the rites of Ash Wednes-

day. All the faithful, clergy and laity, put themselves into the position of penitents, and had ashes placed upon their heads before attending Mass. Even as late as the ninth century this would have been an impossibility. Clergymen in the position of penitents would not have been allowed to officiate, and the laity in a like position would not have been allowed to communicate. In the fourth century they would not have been allowed even to be present at the consecration of the Eucharist.

In the present English Office the Penitential Psalm and the collects and suffrages which follow it are taken from the mediæval ceremonial of Ash Wednesday, and are entirely appropriate. The Maledictions in the earlier part of the service resemble the Greater Excommunication which used to be proclaimed in the English tongue three or four times a year in the unreformed service. There exists some popular prejudice against these cursings, under the false impression that they are of the nature of prayers. On the contrary, they are merely declarations, and in no sense imprecations. They merely announce what God has said, and the fact that the modern service, like the later mediæval service, is for the faithful and not for unreconciled penitents, makes them chiefly a warning to those who actually repeat them. When we affirm that the curse of God is indeed due to certain sins, the use of such an affirmation is to make us avoid these sins, and repent of them if we be guilty.

In 1549 the service was simply headed 'The First Day of Lent, commonly called Ash Wednesday,' and the first rubric announced that 'After Mattins ended, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and assembled in the church: The English litany shall be said after the accustomed manner: which ended, the priest shall go into the pulpit and say thus.' In 1552 and 1604 the title was 'A Commination

against sinners, with certain prayers, to be used divers times in the year.' The title did not mention Ash Wednesday, and although the service was no doubt intended to be used on that day, it is plain that it was also intended to be used on other occasions also, like the mediæval Greater Excommunication. In 1661 the title was altered to its present form.

This brief account of the service may be closed with two reflections. First, some may feel a regret that the service no longer contains the picturesque and significant ceremony which gave 'Ash' Wednesday its present name. But we may remember that in the omission of the ceremony the Church of England, as in so many other cases, has returned to the usage of the old Roman Church. Secondly, we may fully agree with Cranmer's wish, written in 1549, that the godly public discipline of 'the Primitive Church' in the fourth and succeeding centuries may be restored. But at the same time we may be thankful that he judged it best that the man who was burdened with the sense of sin should avail himself of private confession and 'open his sin and grief secretly.' The two penitential methods are adapted to different states of society, and the Church, which lives to save, has rightly sanctioned both.

CHAPTER XVII

FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED AT SEA

These forms of prayer were composed in 1661. They are believed to have been written by Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln (died 1663). They are supplemental to the services of the Prayer Book which are ordinarily to be the same at sea as on land, save for the addition of two prayers to Morning and Evening Prayer. The other forms are intended for emergencies. There was ancient precedent for such forms in the 'Missa pro Navigantibus' in the Sarum and other Missals, and in a 'Missa Nautica,'[1] which contained the Mass without the consecration and communion. The impossibility of consecrating the Eucharist on an ancient vessel in a rough sea accounts for the mutilated form of the 'Missa Nautica.' It should also be noticed that under the Long Parliament (1640-53) a Presbyterian form of prayer had been issued for the use of the navy, and this fact probably suggested the use of special forms of prayer when the Church and the King were restored.

An additional form is given for a burial at sea, and in time of imminent danger there is appointed the confession and absolution from the Communion Service. An excellent form of thanksgiving after victory is provided; but Bishop Sanderson does not appear to have contemplated the possibilities of defeat.

[1] Bingham, *Antiq.*, edit. 1855, vol. v. p. 365; Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. iv. cap. 1.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ORDINAL

Order is heav'n's first law.
POPE, *Essay on Man.*

§ 1. *The Threefold Ministry.*

CHRIST Himself ordained the first ministers of the Christian Church, choosing apostles to whom He gave the solemn commission, 'As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you' (S. John xx. 21). After the death of Judas the apostles ordained another to fill the place of the traitor, thereby showing that they believed themselves to be in possession of the authority to send forth others as they had been sent themselves. When Matthias was chosen to succeed Judas, it was stated by S. Peter that a qualification for this office was a personal acquaintance with our Lord's ministry from His Baptism to His Ascension. S. Paul also reckons that among the qualifications of an apostle is to have seen the Lord. It was the duty of the apostles to preach to the unbelieving, to exercise a paternal discipline, and to impart traditions. This much would be admitted by all professing Christians who accept the New Testament; but unfortunately there are many such persons who sincerely accept the New Testament but reject the present ministry of the Catholic Church. The Church maintains that there are three orders of the ministry which date from apostolic times, and exist

for the permanent life of the Church. The apostles first appointed deacons to minister to the needs of the Christians at Jerusalem. Then we learn how the Gospel spread from city to city, and officials named presbyters, whose title was an old title used in the synagogues, were appointed to labour for the salvation of souls in these cities. These presbyters were also known by the name of *episkopoi*, or overseers of the Church. Finally, when S. Paul saw that his end was apparently drawing near, he appointed S. Timothy and S. Titus to act as his delegates in Ephesus and Crete, with the power to ordain presbyters and deacons. S. Paul and some of the twelve apostles had exercised a wandering ministry, but it seems that S. James at Jerusalem, and afterwards S. John at Ephesus, settled down and directed the adjacent Churches from one centre only. We can be almost certain that other men were appointed in the same manner as S. Timothy and S. Titus. S. Irenæus relates how S. Peter and S. Paul appointed Linus to be the first Bishop of Rome; and S. Ignatius of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom about A.D. 110, was undoubtedly Bishop of Antioch, and he seems to have been the second who occupied that position. Ignatius must have been of mature years before S. John died (about A.D. 98), and his predecessor may well have been appointed by an apostle.

The seven letters of S. Ignatius show that he regards episcopacy as essential to the existence of a Church, and they show us that before the death of the writer the word *episkopos* had been appropriately transferred to the highest order of the ministry and taken from the presbyters. Inasmuch as these bishops succeeded to the office of guiding the presbyters, deacons, and laity, which had been formerly exercised by such men as S. Timothy and S. Titus, and originally by the apostles, the Church has scrupulously retained the teaching of S. Ignatius that no Church is a true Church

unless it is governed by a bishop. The episcopate is thus a golden chain, stretching link by link between our modern bishops and the apostles of Jesus Christ. No ministers of religion can receive the power to act as the representatives of man to God and as 'stewards of God's mysteries,' unless they receive the laying on of hands from those whom the apostles and their representatives ordained for that purpose. This is what is meant by the doctrine of Apostolic Succession.

In maintaining the truth asserted in the preface of the present English Ordinal that 'from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,' we do not ignore some difficulties which beset this truth. Some of S. Paul's Epistles show us that in the earliest days of Christianity there was a rich temporary outpouring of spiritual gifts, such as prophecy and speaking with tongues, which existed side by side with other gifts which God has been pleased to continue. Corresponding with this difference in gifts, there was a considerable distinction between the ministers required for evangelisation and those required for pastoral charges. Moreover, the nomenclature of the Church was for many years in a fluid state; final meanings had not yet been fixed to particular names. Thus, although the letters of S. Ignatius show us that the meanings were already fixed at Antioch, the *Teaching of the Apostles* and the Epistle of S. Clement, which are only a few years earlier in date, still call the presbyters *episkopoi*, and in the former book we find so-called 'apostles' over the local clergy; S. Paul,[1] S. Peter, and S. John seem to have called themselves 'presbyters' or elders; and this vague use of the term appears to have lingered for a long time in some parts of Christendom. But in spite of the difficulties occasioned by

[1] See 1 Tim. iv. 14, and 2 Tim. i. 6; 2 S. John 1; 3 S. John 1; 1 S. Peter v. 1.

some variations in detail, the fact remains true that the three orders of the ministry date from the apostolic age; and while it is wrong to condemn the 'fruits of the Spirit' when they are manifested among men who are without this ministry, it is also wrong to question the necessity of a system which has such a sacred sanction.

§ 2. *The Ordination of Deacons and Priests.*

The present Ordinal of the Church of England was first drawn up in 1550, and it was prepared as a companion to the Prayer Book of 1549.[1] It was slightly modified to suit the Prayer Book of 1552, and was again revised by Convocation in 1661. The Ordinal only includes Offices for the Ordination of deacons, priests, and bishops, as the 'minor orders,' viz. those of sub-deacon, acolyte, exorcist, reader, and doorkeeper were discontinued at the Reformation, having for some time previously become mere steps to the higher offices of the ministry, and having no essential importance in the ministry of the Church. All Ordinations, according to immemorial usage, must take place at a 'sung or said' celebration of the Communion Service. A sermon having been delivered, the archdeacon presents to the bishop the candidates for the diaconate; the bishop then inquires of the congregation whether any of them know of any

[1] The Anglican Ordinal was undoubtedly influenced by the 'Ratio Ordinandi' in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*. The interrogations in Bucer's form are the basis of those which are proposed to the candidates of each order in the Edwardine Ordinal, and the Allocution to the candidates for the priesthood is taken from the same source. Bucer had no clear belief in the threefold ministry, but our Ordinal contains no part of Bucer's work which affects the validity of Anglican Ordinations. Cranmer, in spite of adopting suggestions from Bucer, deliberately kept a Catholic structure of the Ordinal. As in the case of the Mass, he felt constrained to satisfy the bishops of 'the old learning'; and all the bishops appear to have used the reformed Ordinal.

impediment which would render any candidate unfit for Ordination. If no 'impediment or notable crime' be alleged, the bishop asks for the prayers of the congregation on behalf of those to be ordained, and then sings the litany with a special suffrage for the candidates. The preliminary forms used in the case of the ordaining of priests are similar.

At the Communion Service special collects are provided; that on behalf of the deacons makes mention of 'the first martyr S. Stephen' as chosen into that order. Before the Gospel is read the bishop instructs the candidates for the diaconate in the duties of that office, and afterwards lays his hands upon every one with the words, 'Take thou authority to execute the office of a Deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' He then delivers to every one a New Testament, saying, 'Take thou authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God, and to preach the same, if thou be thereto licensed by the Bishop himself.' One of the newly ordained deacons then reads the Gospel.

At the Ordination of Priests the bishop addresses the candidates at some length after the Gospel. He then questions them as to their sense of a call to the order of priesthood, and asks them whether they will be faithful in their duties and doctrine, exemplary in life, and obedient to their 'ordinary and other chief ministers.' After a prayer for their assistance he sings the *Veni Creator*, and then prays that as Christ after His Ascension sent abroad His apostles, prophets, evangelists, doctors, and pastors, so those now called 'to the same office and ministry appointed for the salvation of mankind' may, with those over whom they shall be appointed, be the means of glorifying God's Name and enlarging His kingdom. Then the bishop with the priests present, lays his hands upon each

candidate saying, 'Receive the Holy Ghost [for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands.[1]] Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His holy Sacraments; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' Then, while they still kneel, he delivers to every one the Bible into his hand saying, 'Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in the congregation, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.'

The Nicene Creed is then sung or said, and the Communion Service is continued to the end with special collects before the blessing.

Few rites have been the subject of greater controversy than this form for the Ordination of Priests, and it is necessary to give some special consideration to its history. At the end of the Middle Ages the Ordination services, like that of the Roman Church at the present day, were of a picturesque but very composite and confused character. The Old Roman form for the ordaining of priests had been of a very simple and intelligible form. One of the most learned of modern Roman Catholic writers says: 'The whole rite of the Ordination of deacons and priests, according to Roman usage, consisted in prayers, some being made in common by the whole assembly, some being recited by the Pope over the prostrate candidate.'[2] Shortly before the Gospel the archdeacon presented the candidates for the order of deacon to the Pope. The Pope then asked the congregation to pray for these servants of God whom He condescends to call to 'the office of

[1] The words in brackets were not in the Edwardine form, but were inserted in 1661.

[2] Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 345.

the diaconate.' All knelt in prayer, and the choir sang the litany, after which the Pope laid his hands on each of the candidates and offered two prayers. The deacons are compared with the sons of Levi, and God is asked to send forth upon them His Holy Spirit 'by Whom they may be strengthened unto the work of faithfully executing their ministry through the sevenfold gift of Thy grace.' The deacons then received an embrace from the Pope and took their place with the older deacons near the Pope's side.

The candidates for the priesthood then came forward, and the Pope asked the faithful to pray that God 'may multiply His heavenly gifts upon these His servants whom He has chosen for the office of the presbyterate.' The collect or first prayer was this:—'Hear us, O God of our salvation, and pour forth upon these Thy servants the benediction of Thy Holy Spirit and the might of priestly [*sacerdotalis*] grace, that Thou mayest aid with the perpetual bounty of Thy favour those whom we present for consecration to the regard of Thy goodness.' In the second or Eucharistic prayer God is praised for instituting the priestly rank and the functions of Levites to assist the high priests. Thus in the desert He gave seventy men to help Moses to rule the multitudes, and gave to Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron, the abundance of their father's fulness 'that the worth of the priests might avail for salutary offerings and for the mysteries of a more frequent service.' It is evidently meant that as the priests of the Old Dispensation assisted the high priest, so the priests of the New Dispensation are to assist the bishop. Then the prayer continues, 'By this providence, O Lord, Thou didst add teachers of the faith as companions of the apostles of Thy Son, by whom they filled the whole world with a second rank of preachers. Wherefore, we beseech Thee, O Lord, bestow these aids upon our weakness, who in proportion to our frailty need this

enlarged number. Grant, we beseech Thee, almighty Father, the dignity of the presbyterate to these Thy servants; renew within them the Spirit of holiness, that they may find accepted by Thee, O God, the office of the second rank, and by the example of their conversation may instil the correction of manners. May they be careful workers together with our order; may the form of all righteousness shine forth in them, that they may give a good account of the stewardship entrusted to them and attain the rewards of everlasting blessedness.' Here again we see that the duty of the presbyter is to aid the bishop as the teachers aided the apostles. The prayer as a whole implies, like some of the earliest Christian documents, that there is an analogy between the threefold Jewish ministry and the threefold Christian ministry, but it only suggests in a very vague manner that the Christian priest has other duties in addition to that of teaching. Moreover, in some places where the Roman rite was used, there was no mention of the conferring sacerdotal power, as the words 'priestly grace' were replaced by 'spiritual grace.' In fact, the Old Roman rite is much less definite with regard to the duties of a priest than the present English Ordinal. The presbyters received the laying on of hands before this prayer, and after it were embraced.

Such was the Roman service in the early days of English Christianity; we must now show how the service became transformed. The transformation is one of the many instances in which the French love of ceremonial altered the character of Roman worship.

The famous *Missal of the Franks*, now preserved in the Vatican, contains the old Gallican Ordination services already mixed with Roman elements. The date of the book is about A.D. 800. The Ordination of the sub-deacon contains a ceremony which was destined to have a portentous influence in the history of Christendom. Before the bishop blessed him and prayed that

the spirit of wisdom and understanding might rest upon him, he handed to him an empty chalice and paten, and the archdeacon gave him a napkin, a cruet of water, and a vessel. This is the *traditio instrumentorum* or 'handing of the vessels,' intended to remind the sub-deacon that he was entrusted with the humble but useful task of keeping the altar linen clean, taking care of the vessels, and preparing the bread and wine for Mass. The same *Missal of the Franks* shows us a very simple form for the Ordination of a deacon. The bishop gave the candidate no vessels, but laid his hand upon him with a prayer that he might serve in purity in that order which the apostles had instituted, and which Blessed Stephen had led.

The Gallican Ordination of a priest, like that of a deacon, included a short address from the bishop, asking the congregation to give their testimony as to the character of the candidate. The congregation, instead of giving consent to his Ordination by their silence, replied, 'He is worthy.' The bishop then said: 'Brethren, let us pray in common, that he who is elected to aid and promote your salvation may by the indulgence of the divine favour obtain the blessing of the presbyterate: that he may maintain the priestly [*sacerdotalia*] gifts of the Holy Spirit by the prerogative of his virtues, lest he be discovered unequal to his place.' The bishop and all the priests then place their hands upon the candidate with the prayer that God may put forth the hand of His blessing upon this His servant 'whom we dedicate to the honour of the presbyterate, that he may meditate in the Law of God day and night and believe what he has read, teach what he has believed, imitate what he has taught.' The prayer goes on to beg that he may keep the gift of God's ministry unstained, and 'by the offering of Thy people transform the Body and Blood

of Thy Son by an unstained consecration.'[1] After this prayer the bishop anointed the hands of the newly ordained priest, with these words: 'May these hands be consecrated and sanctified by this anointing and our blessing: that whatsoever they have blessed may be blessed, and whatsoever they have hallowed may be hallowed.' This ceremony of anointing was suggested by the Old Testament. It is at least probable that it was first performed in Great Britain, and from thence spread to France and Spain.

Although this old Gallican Ordination is more elaborate than the Roman, most of it is quite clear and intelligible.[2] The priest is ordained by the laying on of the bishop's hands, the bishop having shown the meaning of the rite which he performs by saying that it is 'the blessing of the presbyterate' which God is asked to give the candidate. His duties are defined as teaching, and consecrating the Eucharist. His hands are anointed as a symbol of God's ratification of the blessings which he is to bespeak.

This ceremony of anointing occurs in the *Leofric Missal*, which was used at Exeter by Bishop Leofric, who died in 1072. In this book we see the Old Roman service in process of change—we can hardly yet say degeneration—through an admixture of Northern ceremonies. It contains the two Old Roman prayers for 'the ordaining of a presbyter.'[3] The second prayer, which mentions Eleazar and Ithamar and the teachers who assisted the apostles, has the prayer for the

[1] The Latin in this sentence is difficult to understand, but the strange words 'transform the Body' are a usual Gallican phrase.

[2] The Gallican prayer was afterwards added to the Roman. The two occur together in the Gelasian Sacramentary, in which the Roman prayer is called *Consecratio*, and the Gallican prayer *Benedictio*.

[3] The Leofric Missal does not contain the Gallican Ordination prayer, which was already repeated in some districts after the Roman prayer, but the later books, both English and Continental, contain both prayers, and thus the real degeneration of the rite began.

anointing of the hands added to it, and it is headed 'Consecratio,' which plainly shows that the priest was considered to be consecrated when this prayer was concluded, or when the prayer and the anointing were concluded. There is no mention of the Eucharist. An additional feature, which did not exist in the Old Roman rite, is a prayer for blessing the stoles given to the deacons, and the chasubles given to the priests. The chasuble, having long ceased to be worn by laymen, and being seldom worn by the deacons, was now regarded as the peculiar normal ornament of a priest. We should particularly notice that the Leofric Missal, faithful to Old Roman usage, does not direct that any vessels should be given to the priest. Sacred vessels are given to the sub-deacon at his Ordination, *because he does not receive the laying on of the hand.* These are the words plainly set forth in the Leofric Missal. It is clear, therefore, that the ancient English and Roman bishops laid hands upon the candidates for the priesthood, the ceremony and the office both having the plain warrant of Scripture. In conferring the order of sub-deacon they were conferring a rank unknown in Scripture, and attached to it a ceremony unknown in Scripture, but perfectly appropriate.

But in the eleventh century this principle began to be undermined. There was a growing desire to emphasise the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, on account of recent controversies concerning that Presence. Consequently there began the practice, which developed through several stages, of introducing ceremonies which called attention to the doctrine of the Real Presence. After the hands of the priest were anointed he was given a chalice and wafer with the words, 'Receive the power of offering sacrifice to God, and of celebrating Masses on behalf of both the quick and dead.' These striking words, accompanied by so conspicuous a ceremony, soon produced their

natural effect. They began to be considered the most important thing in the service; the words just quoted began to be considered as what is technically known as the 'Form' of Ordination, *i.e.* the external words giving the rite an intelligible shape, and the handing of the vessels or 'instruments' was considered as the 'Matter,' or necessary outward sign. In A.D. 1439, Pope Eugenius IV. distinctly asserted that the handing of the 'instruments' is the 'Matter' of Ordination, and says nothing about the laying on of hands. The same view is apparently assumed in the present rubrics of the Roman service, for after the candidates have received the vessels they are described as 'ordained,' whereas until they have received them they are described as 'those about to be ordained.'[1] Therefore the present Roman service, as it stands, seems to assume that the handing of the vessels is essential, an opinion which is in defiance of the opinion held by the Catholic Church for the first thousand years.

But the story of the Ordination Service is not yet complete. It seems to have occurred to some thoughtful minds in the Middle Ages that it was a misfortune that the laying on of hands should have become so completely overshadowed by more modern ceremonies. To make amends for this defect it was directed that, after the newly made priests had received Holy Communion, the bishop should lay his hands upon them with the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins thou remittest they are remitted unto them: and whosesoever sins thou dost retain, they shall be retained.' All the early books omit this formula. Then came the last stage in the corruption of the service. The first laying on of hands, which was the essential action in the Old Roman service, and was

[1] The Sarum Pontifical contains a true survival of the older belief, for in a prayer *before* the giving of the vessels, the candidates are correctly called 'Thy priests.'

retained in the Sarum books, was omitted at Rome as unnecessary, and now the Roman Catholic bishops merely extend their hands when they utter the prayer which was originally called the 'Consecration,' *i.e.* Ordination prayer. A comparison of the Sarum Pontifical with the modern Roman Pontifical exposes the history of the service, a history which is thinly disguised by the present rubrics of the Roman Pontifical.

To sum up. At the time of the Reformation the Sarum Pontifical unmistakably included the following elements, which are also included in the modern Roman service :—

(1) A primitive Ordination by the laying on of the bishop's hands, and prayer; in the modern Roman rite an extension of the bishop's hands has been substituted.

(2) A second Ordination according to the Gallican form, with a consecration by anointing—a rite first used in England and France.

(3) A third and mediæval Ordination at the giving of the vessels or 'instruments.'[1]

(4) A fourth and later mediæval Ordination, with the words used by our Lord, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' etc.

The English Reformers, although they did not enjoy the advantage of having copies of the Old Roman service, composed a service very similar to it, but in some respects more scriptural. They combined (1) with (4), omitted (2) entirely, and altered (3) into a delivery of a copy of the Bible with the words, 'Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in this congregation, where thou shalt be so appointed.'

It is difficult to perceive how any Christian instructed

[1] The form of 1550 directed that the newly ordained deacon who read the Gospel should first put on the tunicle. At the Ordination of a priest the bishop was directed to deliver the Bible to each priest in one hand, 'and the chalice or cup with the bread, in the other hand.' This was omitted in 1552.

in the history of the services used in the Ordination of Priests, could possibly maintain that the English service is invalid. Yet this was done by Pope Leo XIII. in his Bull *Apostolicae Curae* of 1896. The Bull was produced under strong pressure from a party of English Roman Catholics who were afraid that any decision from the Pope which did not absolutely condemn Anglican Orders would strengthen the Church of England in her assertion of Catholic claims. The Bull therefore attempted to slide a decent dogmatic basis under the practice of the English Roman Catholics, who had circulated ridiculous legends about Anglican Ordinations and had re-ordained any Anglican priests who joined the Roman Communion. Leo XIII. put aside or ignored various legendary difficulties which had been raised against Anglican Orders, and confined himself to attacking them on the ground of insufficiency of Form and lack of Intention. The doctrine with regard to Intention varies much in Roman theologians. According to the doctrine as taught by Cardinal Bellarmine and some other eminent Roman theologians, it is necessary that a minister should have a general intention of doing what the Church does, and he asserts that this is taught by the Councils of Florence (A.D. 1439) and Trent (A.D. 1545-1563). 'There is no need,' he adds, 'to intend to do what the Roman Church does, but what the true Church does, whichever Church that may be, or what Christ instituted, or what Christians do; for these all come to the same thing.' Now, the most convinced opponent of the Anglican Church cannot doubt that the English Reformers intended in ordaining to do what the true Church does, and what Christ instituted. For they intended, as the preface to the Ordination Service shows, to retain the same Holy Orders as existed in the English Church before the Reformation. It would therefore be an innovation in Roman doctrine to assert

that the English service is rendered invalid by the defect of Intention which it exhibits.

It is still more impossible to say that the service is invalid because the Form is insufficient. For this becomes a mere matter of historical investigation. The question is settled directly it is proved that the Catholic Church has tolerated a Form of Ordination which is *not* of a particular kind alleged to be necessary. Leo XIII. has defined as necessary for a valid form of Ordination to the priesthood that the form should contain either the name of presbyter or priest (*sacerdos*), or a description of the chief part of his office, viz. to offer the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Anglican form is therefore condemned because it does not definitely express either 'the sacred order of priesthood' (or did not definitely express it before 1662) or 'its grace and power.' It is evident that in some parts of the English Ordination the office of priesthood has always been definitely expressed, but Leo XIII. made light of this fact, and insisted that the words following 'Receive the Holy Ghost' ought to have contained a definite reference to the priesthood.

But a speedy retribution has followed the Pope's quibbling. Within less than three years of his assertion there was published the recently discovered Pontifical of Bishop Serapion of Thmuis in Egypt, of about A.D. 350. These prayers are unquestionably orthodox, and show us how priests were ordained in the time and country of Athanasius. Now Serapion's form for the Ordination of a presbyter was as follows:—

We stretch forth the hand, O Lord God of the heavens, Father of Thy Only-begotten, upon this man, and beseech Thee that the Spirit of truth may come upon him. Give him the graces of prudence and knowledge, and a good heart. Let the divine Spirit come to him that he may be able to be a steward over Thy people and an ambassador of Thy divine oracles, and to reconcile Thy people to Thee, the uncreated God. Thou Who didst give of the spirit of Moses, and put the Holy Spirit

upon the chosen men, give a portion of the Holy Spirit also to this man, from the Spirit of Thy Only-begotten, for the grace of wisdom and knowledge, and right faith, that he may be able to serve Thee in a pure conscience, through Thy Only-begotten Jesus Christ, through Whom to Thee be the glory and the dominion in the Holy Ghost both now and for all the ages of the ages. Amen.

The above prayer contains no reference to any sacramental act except that of reconciliation, which is more definitely expressed in the Anglican form, and it only contains a most distant allusion to the presbyterate in mentioning the 'chosen men' or elders who assisted Moses.

§ 3. *The Consecration of an Archbishop or Bishop.*

The form for the Consecration of a bishop includes a special collect adapted from that for S. Peter's Day. The Epistle is 1 Timothy iii. 1-7. In 1661 an alternative lesson for the Epistle was introduced from Acts xx. 17-36. The Gospel is S. John xxi. 15-17. The alternative Gospels from S. John xx. 19-24 or S. Matthew xxviii. 18 ff. were provided in 1661 instead of S. John x. 1-17. After the Creed and Sermon two bishops present the bishop-elect to the archbishop of the province 'to be consecrated bishop.' The rubric of 1661 directs that the bishop-elect shall wear his rochet, which is a shortened form of the alb. The royal mandate for the Consecration is then read, and the oath touching the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy is taken by the bishop-elect, who also promises 'all due reverence and obedience to the archbishop, to the metropolitical church of *N.* and to their successors.' Before the Reformation the promise was made to obey the archbishop 'according to the decrees of the Roman pontiffs and

their laws.' The archbishop then asks for the prayers of the congregation, with a reference to the Twelve Apostles, Paul, and Barnabas, showing that the bishop-elect is regarded as succeeding to an apostolic office. The Litany is then sung, with a special petition for the bishop-elect. Similar petitions were inserted in the Litany before the Reformation, but the Litany was preceded by a long examination of the prelate, both as to his moral character and his belief. He was required to assent to a full statement with regard to the Trinity and the Incarnation, and to assert that 'the bread which is placed on the Lord's table' is changed 'into the nature and substance of the Flesh of Christ.' The present examination is after the Litany, and contains no reference to the doctrine of the Eucharist. The examination, like the Litany, concludes with a prayer for the bishop-elect.

The actual Consecration now begins. The bishop-elect is directed to put on 'the rest of the episcopal habit.' This should include alb, stole, maniple, tunic and dalmatic (or dalmatic only), and chasuble. If a cope be considered sufficient, it should not be placed immediately over the rochet, but over the more ancient and dignified alb. The bishop-elect being vested, kneels down while the archbishop and bishops sing the *Veni Creator*.

A long prayer is then offered resembling that which is said at the ordering of priests, but differing from it in the greater degree of 'authority' attributed to the person about to be consecrated. Then the archbishop and bishops lay their hands upon the head of the elected bishop with the words—

Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands[1]; In the Name of the Father, and of the Son,

[1] Until 1662 the form used was, 'Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee, by

and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands: For God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.

The archbishop then delivers to him the Bible with an admirable injunction to give heed unto the things contained in this Book, to 'be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf; feed them, devour them not. Hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost.' At the mention of the flock of Christ the archbishop was directed by the rubric of 1549 to put into the bishop's hand the pastoral staff. The direction was omitted in 1552, but it is implicitly restored by the Ornaments rubric.[1]

The Communion Service then proceeds as usual, with a special collect before the Benediction.

imposition of hands: For God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and of soberness.' See above, p. 135. The reason why the word 'Bishop' (and the corresponding word 'Priest' in the Ordination of a priest) was not contained in the Edwardine sentence, was that the sentences themselves were thought to mark the respective orders, because they had been spoken to the primitive holders of those orders (see S. John xx. 22, 23; and 2 Tim. i. 6; cf. Erasmus' *Paraphrase.*) It is the same principle on which the words of Institution at the Eucharist are used by the Roman Church as the words of consecration, and yet Leo XIII. treated the Edwardine sentences as inadequate.

[1] It should be noticed that when the cope or chasuble is not worn an illegal use of certain episcopal ornaments has lately been introduced into certain Anglican dioceses: (*a*) the wearing of the hood of a Doctor of Divinity over the rochet and black chimere, an error said to have been introduced by Dr. Samuel Wilberforce; (*b*) the wearing of a purple cap, a modern ornament of continental origin; (*c*) the wearing of a violet chimere, through confusion with the Italian mantellettum: the Italian chimere is black; (*d*) the wearing of a purple scarf! Both before and after the Reformation English bishops usually wore a black cap, a black chimere, and a scarf, otherwise called a tippet, of black material covered with sable for protection in cold weather. The English episcopal cassock may be black, scarlet, or purple; the chimere must be black or scarlet. The hood must not be worn with the black chimere, but with the scarlet.—See *Transactions of S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv. pp. 181-220.

To this service Pope Leo XIII. made two objections similar to the objections made to the Anglican Ordination of Priests. He first called attention to the fact that the form used from 1552 to 1662 did not mention the office of a bishop immediately after the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' Secondly, he said that, as the Anglican rite had eliminated the priesthood, it had necessarily eliminated with it 'the highest priesthood,' as the office of a bishop is sometimes called.

The second objection assumes that the Church of England rejected the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice because it rejected a theory—there was no clearly defined doctrine on the subject—current in the sixteenth century. The first objection assumes that it is not enough for a valid Ordination that the rite as a whole should definitely signify the office of a bishop, but that it must be signified in the 'form' used in the actual Consecration. The Old Roman form does indeed include a mention of 'the highest priesthood' and 'the episcopal chair.' This form is contained in the Leofric Missal; another form of 'consecration' being also provided in which 'the highest priesthood' is mentioned, but in which the words 'bishop' and 'episcopal' do not occur. The later mediæval English pontificals had both these prayers, and at the end of the latter added a prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the bishop-elect. This was followed by the Gallican ceremony, gradually introduced in the Roman rite, of anointing the new bishop.

Now the later mediæval English method of consecrating a bishop, though it contains a confusing mixture of Roman and Gallican rites, still leaves it possible for us to suppose that the Consecration was believed to take place at or immediately after one of the prayers mentioning 'the highest priesthood.' But the present Roman Consecration of a bishop is as corrupted as the present Roman Ordination of a priest. The Old

Roman prayer of consecration is still retained, preceded by the laying on of hands. This is followed by the *Veni Creator* and the anointing of the head of the bishop-elect. Then there is a prayer that whosesoever sins he remits they may be remitted, and that he may be given the episcopal chair. Then his hands are anointed, and not until then is he called 'consecrated.' The modern rubrics only call him 'elect' even after the laying on of hands and the old consecration prayer. The consequence is that the present Roman service is involved in the same defect as the English service in the form which was used from 1552 to 1662. Both rites as a whole show that the candidate is unquestionably being consecrated to the episcopal order, but we could hardly say that in either of the two rites the laying on of hands with prayer would be sufficient unless the intention and purpose of the Consecration were made evident by other portions of the service.

The fact is that Anglican Orders and Roman Orders stand on the same level, and this was recognised in the reign of Mary by Pope Paul IV. The Bull says, 'And all ecclesiastical persons, whether seculars or regulars of any order, who, under the pretended authority of the supremacy of the Anglican Church, have *nulliter et de facto* obtained any requests, dispensations, grants, graces, or indults concerning as well orders as ecclesiastical benefices and other matters spiritual, but who have returned to the bosom of the Church and have been restored to unity, we will indulgently receive in their orders and benefices either in our own proper person or by deputies by us appointed for that purpose.' That is to say, Paul IV. treated as null and void the dispensations, etc., which were obtained from Edward VI. and not from the Pope, but expressly ratified the acceptance of Anglican Orders by his legate.

That the Roman Church in the sixteenth century should have thus acknowledged the validity of Anglican

Orders given according to the reformed rite is important, but something approximating to an element of humour is to be found in the fact that the Roman Church also came very near to pronouncing orders administered in England before the Reformation to be invalid. The later Roman mediæval rite inserted, and still retains, before the ancient prayer of consecration the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' And the Council of Trent, which is regarded as infallible by Roman Christendom, says, 'If any one shall have said that by Holy Ordination the Holy Ghost is not given; and that consequently bishops say in vain *Receive the Holy Ghost*, let him be anathema.' Morinus,[1] an important Roman authority, holds that this statement includes a reference to the Consecration of bishops, and it is certain that the Continental theologians of the later Middle Ages regarded these words as the absolutely necessary form in the Consecration of a bishop. But unfortunately for Roman theology, none of the mediæval English pontificals, except that of Exeter, contains the words at all; and therefore, according to the standard of the Council of Trent, the modern Anglican form of consecrating a bishop is better than the form employed when the Anglican Church was in union with Rome.

[1] *De sacris ordin.*, Pars iii. excerc. 2. c. ii.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PRAYER BOOK IN SCOTLAND, AMERICA, AND IRELAND

> God be thanked, this will do very well. *Archbishop Laud to Bishop Wedderburne of Dunblane,* A.D. 1636.

> I beheld four ploughs in the north-east which ploughed the whole island, and clear wellsprings came out of the furrows. I beheld four other ploughs in the north which ploughed the island athwart, and black streams came out of the furrows. *Vision of S. Brigit.*

THE close intimacy of race and language which existed between the Gaels of Ireland and the Gaels of Scotland was manifested in their common use of Gallican rites, which gradually succumbed to Roman influences. The Saxons who colonised the south-east of Scotland naturally inclined to the use of Rome, and as the royal house became more Anglicised, Celtic ecclesiastical customs gradually disappeared. Scottish Celts had played a most noble part in spreading the Gospel through Great Britain. And although it is incorrect to say that Aidan rather than Augustine was the apostle of England, it is true to say that the north of England mainly owes its faith to Aidan and the other sons of Iona, and it is right to rejoice that the life of the Church of the Gaels was interwoven with that of the Church of the English. Gradually, however, the light of zeal began to fail in Scotland, and it was

then that England gave back what she had received. When Margaret, grand-niece of Edward the Confessor, became Queen of Scotland in 1068, she found that monks were married, that Sunday was neglected, and that the Scots had even given up the habit of communicating at Easter. Margaret became the instrument of a great revival which was afterwards carefully fostered by King David. Scotland became dotted with magnificent churches, its dioceses were carefully organised, energetic monastic orders replaced the degenerate Culdees, and the stately use of Sarum found a second home beyond the Tweed.

Not until a few years before the Reformation was any attempt made to break this harmony of worship. The publication of a breviary at Aberdeen in 1510, one of the most benighted periods of the pre-Reformation Scottish Church, was both a token of the culture which had risen around the new university of that city and a sign of national exclusiveness. In 1507 King James IV. actually prohibited the 'bukis of Salusbury use' to be used after the appearance of the expected Aberdeen books. But the prohibition was not very widely regarded, and the Sarum use generally held its ground. When the Reformation came, it came with a violence proportionate to the vice of the great ecclesiastics against whose persons and riches it was mainly directed. The English Reformation may be compared with a river troubled but yet unbroken in its passage. On the throne of Canterbury, Parker succeeded Pole as Pole had succeeded Cranmer. In Scotland the Reformation was like an earthquake. On the morning of August 17, 1560, the episcopate was supreme, in the evening of August 24 Calvinism was set up. One bishop, Bothwell of Orkney, continued to act as a minister of religion, but on the mainland Calvinistic doctrine was united with a type of government which became more and more rigorously

Presbyterian. In this government there were for a time men who bore the title of bishops, but they did not receive episcopal consecration. John Knox, whose had been the guiding hand through most of the changes effected, was well acquainted with the English Prayer Books of Edward VI. The Second Book of Edward VI. had been used in Scotland between 1557 and 1560, but was superseded by the 'Book of Common Order,' or Knox's Liturgy. Indications are not wanting to show that neither Knox nor his Liturgy was universally considered the best exponent of reformed Christianity, and the Book of Common Prayer found many purchasers in Scotland throughout the reign of James VI.

In 1603 James VI. succeeded to the throne of England, and soon manifested a desire for the restoration of ecclesiastical unity between England and Scotland. He began the policy, continued by his successors, of endeavouring to insinuate gradually an episcopate and a liturgy into the Presbyterian Establishment. The attempt was by no means so foolish as it has been frequently thought to be. The Scottish Presbyterians had not yet developed a dislike to set forms of prayer, and only a few years had elapsed since they had definitely excluded bishops from their Church (1592). James was quite justified in supposing that their moderate men would not object to a good liturgy and a genuine episcopate, and his hopes seemed near to realisation in 1610, when three prominent Presbyterian ministers, Spottiswoode, Lamb, and Hamilton, consented to be consecrated bishops in London. He followed up this action by ordering in 1614 that all ministers should celebrate the Communion on Easter Day, and in 1618 secured by a large majority of votes in the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, held at Perth, assent to five articles directed against Puritan innovations in worship. The Articles of Perth upheld: (1) Kneeling at the Holy Communion; (2) private

Communion in cases of sickness; (3) private Baptism in similar cases; (4) Confirmation of children by the bishop; (5) religious observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday.

James was succeeded in 1625 by his son Charles I., who was more tolerant than his father. He permitted the Scottish clergy who were ordained before 1618 to disregard the Perth Articles, and in 1633 placed the stipends of the Scottish clergy on a satisfactory footing for the first time since the Reformation. It was this very desire for justice which worked for his downfall, for it seems to be an undisputed fact that Charles roused the avaricious opposition of the Scottish landowners by his intention of restoring to the Church some of the property which they had plundered. They were soon furnished with a pretext and with a battle-cry for their opposition.

As early as 1629 a liturgy which had been completed in the reign of James was sent to London by the Scottish bishops for the royal approval. Archbishop Laud urged that it would be better for the Scots to use the English rite. John Maxwell, then a leading clergyman of Edinburgh, discussed the subject with Laud, and very properly maintained that his countrymen would be better satisfied if they could use a liturgy framed by their own clergy. The difficulty lay in deciding, first, whether the English liturgy should be employed, or a Scottish liturgy; secondly, if it were Scottish, was it to be the liturgy of 1629? The latter is a clumsy performance. It is a mixture of the liturgy of Knox and the Book of Common Prayer; it is written neither in good English nor in good Scots; and we cannot wonder that Laud preferred the English liturgy. Nevertheless, a series of compromises was made, and finally the Scottish bishops prevailed upon the king to allow them to have a liturgy of their own. Laud strongly disliked this concession

of the king's, and delayed to render them the help which the king commanded him to give. The book was virtually finished in April 1636, Laud and Bishop Wren having actively co-operated. But the popular fashion of calling the book 'Laud's' liturgy, a title which has created a prejudice against it in Scotland, is scarcely just. Laud, so far from wishing the Scots to use a liturgy of his own making, wished them to use the English book pure and simple. And the fact that the tone of the Scottish book is so Catholic and approximates to the English book of 1549 is mainly due, not to any Englishman, but to Wedderburne, Bishop of Dunblane, a man of good Scottish family, gentle and learned, who was twice hunted out of Scotland by the Presbyterians, and died in England after many sorrows.[1]

This Scottish liturgy employs the word 'presbyter' instead of 'priest,' and omits quotations from the Apocrypha. In most places the order of the English services is followed, but the Eucharist contains an explicit direction 'to offer up and place the bread and wine . . . upon the Lord's Table,' and the Prayer for the Church Militant contains a long and exceedingly beautiful commemoration of the saints. The narrative of the Institution is preceded by the Invocation and followed by the Oblation and the Lord's Prayer. The prayer of humble access came immediately before the Communion, and only the first clause in the words of Administration was retained. This was directly due to Wedderburne, who wished to exclude anything suggestive of Zwinglianism. It was directed that the Lord's Table should stand at the east end of the church, and the presbyter at 'the north side or end.' The Calendar contained, in addition to the names in

[1] Among other excellent features of the work of Wedderburne is the fact that he suggested to Laud certain improvements upon the English translation of the Athanasian Creed.

the English Calendar, those of several saints connected with North Britain.

The royal proclamation authorising the Scottish Book of Common Prayer was dated December 20, 1636, and directed that every parish should procure at least two copies before 'Pasch [*i.e.* Easter] next.' It was first read in S. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, on Sunday, July 23, 1637, and it was followed by a national revolt. A tale, still circulated with exultation in thousands of books, asserts that while the dean was reading Morning Prayer, a woman named Jenny Geddes, who kept a stall in the High Street, flung her stool at his head, and thus began the revolution which destroyed episcopacy in Scotland. The modern Englishmen who have made a fine art of religious brawling would be hardly justified in condemning such an action on the part of an ignorant coster-woman. But as the story appears to be only a legend of the eighteenth century, the mythical Jenny Geddes requires neither our condemnation nor our applause. Let it suffice that a modern tablet has been erected to her memory by the Presbyterians of Edinburgh.[1]

It is impossible to give in this book any account of the persecution of the Scottish adherents of episcopacy from the outbreak of this revolt until the accession of Charles II. in 1660, or of the misguided policy of the government of Charles II., by which a large amount of semi-Presbyterianism was tolerated within the Church of Scotland, and the more consistent Presbyterians outside the Church were cruelly harried. The Scottish bishops, being attached to the House of Stewart, refused to swear allegiance to William III., a refusal in which they were supported by eight English bishops and four hundred clergymen. The departure of the 'Non-jurors,' as they were called, did irretrievable injury to the Church of England, and in Scotland their action

[1] See Stephen, *History of the Scottish Church*, vol. ii. p. 255.

was immediately followed by the establishment of Presbyterianism (A.D. 1690). From that day Scottish Presbyterianism has enjoyed the favour of the State, and is in fact allowed greater privileges than the Church of England is allowed in England. The disestablished Episcopalians, as the adherents of the ancient order are called, began to suffer a persecution which reached its climax in the time of George II. and brought the Church to the verge of annihilation.

In the time of Anne the Episcopalians used either the English Prayer Book, many copies of which were sent to them by the University of Oxford, or the Scottish Book of 1637, which was reprinted in 1712. In 1718 some English Non-jurors published a liturgy called *A Communion Office, taken partly from the Primitive Liturgies and partly from the First English Reformed Common-Prayer Book.* It revived the direction to mix water with the wine, prayer for the dead, the invocation of the Holy Spirit to consecrate the elements, and the prayer of oblation. It made the order of the canon conform to that of the Syrian liturgies. The book was mainly the work of Bishops Jeremy Collier and Thomas Brett. The four distinctive revivals of this Communion Office were known as the 'usages,' and they were upheld by an influential party among the Scottish ecclesiastics. There was much difference of opinion concerning them, and in 1731 the Scottish bishops simply agreed to use either the English liturgy or the Scottish liturgy of 1637. An edition of this book was published in 1735, in which the order of the prayers in the Eucharist was assimilated to that of the book of 1549. The turning-point in the history of the Scottish liturgy was the publication of Bishop Rattray's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* in 1744. This remarkable book, produced in an age when the majority of British Churchmen were in abysmal ignorance concerning the historical principles of divine

worship, led to the reconstruction of the Scottish Eucharistic canon. In 1755 Bishop Falconar published a book in which the narrative of the Institution is followed by the Oblation and the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. Finally, in 1764, Bishop Falconar and Bishop R. Forbes published another edition in which these changes were embodied, and issued it with the authority of Falconar as 'Primus' of the Church of Scotland. This edition remains the standard text of the Scottish Communion Office, and is worthy of the affection and veneration with which it is regarded by all who use it. Issued before the penal laws against the Church were yet removed, and read in lonely cottages by priests who were 'unskilled in every art but the art of suffering for conscience' sake,' it shares in the pathos of that primæval Christian worship which it reflects.[1]

The first translation of this Scottish Communion Office into Scottish Gaelic was printed at Edinburgh in 1797. It was edited by Bishop Macfarlane, and is called 'An Oifig chum ceart fhrithealadh an Comuin Naomh do reir Gnathachadh Eaglais na h'Alba.' Until the earlier part of the eighteenth century the literary language of the Highlands hardly differed from Irish Gaelic, and it is probable that the Irish Prayer Book was used to some extent in the Highlands. Indeed, there are persons still living in Scotland who remember aged people who first learned to read the Bible in Irish Gaelic.

The Scottish Communion Office connects the history

[1] In 1811 the Scottish Office was declared by a Synod held at Aberdeen to be of primary authority in the Church. In 1863 it was ordered that the English Office should be used in all new congregations, unless a certain number of communicants declare their desire to use the Scottish Office. Thus, while Queen Victoria and the Presbyterians were endeavouring to make the Episcopal Church of Scotland to be regarded as an exotic from England, Scottish Churchmen actually restricted the use of their national liturgy in favour of a liturgy which is both English and inferior to their own!

of the Church in Scotland with the history of the Church in America, a connection which is of the utmost importance from a liturgical point of view.

The first recorded Eucharist which was offered in the great country now known as the United States of America was offered by a priest of the Church of England, Francis Fletcher, a chaplain of Drake. The day was the first Sunday after Trinity A.D. 1579, and the place was a 'fayre and good baye,' which is supposed to be Drake's Bay, about thirty miles from San Francisco in California. This was some two hundred years before Father Junipero Serra, a Spanish Franciscan friar, began his noble work of converting the Indians of California. It is probable, though not quite certain, that the first Indian who was baptized in the present United States was a converted chief, Mantéo, who was baptized by another Anglican priest on the island of Roanoke in 1587. The Anglican Church was first organised at Jamestown, Virginia, A.D. 1607, and the first elective assembly of the new world met in Jamestown church, A.D. 1619, and was opened with a collect said by a clergyman of the Church of England. The colonial Church was therefore planted before the Dutch Calvinists came to New York, and before the landing of the English Puritans in Massachusetts. The Church depended for its ministry upon recruits from England, and was nominally under the supervision of the Bishop of London. This supervision became a reality at the close of the seventeenth century, when Bishop Compton despatched Dr. Bray to investigate the state of the Church in the American colonies, and the untiring investigator brought to pass the foundation of 'The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts' in A.D. 1701.

If the Church had only been sufficiently organised in America to meet the efforts of the Society, the whole religious history of North America would have been

changed, and changed for the better. The work was completely frustrated by the English Government. The political motives which caused the Georges to crush the Church in Scotland had a parallel in the political motives which caused them to strangle the American Church when she was scarcely born. There were districts where the Dissenters were fanatically opposed to the Church and did not hesitate to tax and imprison the Anglicans who dwelt among them. In other places they were inclined to be friendly, and even allowed the missionaries of the Church to preach in their places of worship. But the English Government was afraid of the fanatics, and in order to please them refused to send a bishop to America, although in the reign of Anne a scheme had been adopted for four American bishoprics, and certain government lands were actually sold for their endowment. The ablest men in the English Church recommended the scheme, but the Government would listen to neither Berkeley, Butler, Sherlock, nor Secker. The result was inevitable. In the Southern States, where the Church was established, the clergy, free from all ecclesiastical control, tended to sink to the moral level of the colonial planters, and were snubbed and despoiled by the very men who had grown up under their influence. In the Northern States the Church was downtrodden. And yet it was healthier under insults than under patronage. The story of the New England converts of A.D. 1722 is a dramatic illustration of the spiritual power of the Book of Common Prayer. Seven professors of Yale College, all of them Congregationalists or Presbyterians, had been accustomed to meet together and discuss the claims of Episcopacy. Their leader was the President of the college, Dr. Timothy Cutler. He was a man who had learned to love the Prayer Book, and committed many of its prayers to memory, with the result that they coloured his own 'extempore' devotions, until he

became celebrated for his 'gifts in prayer.' From the study of the Prayer Book he and his colleagues went on to the study of the great masters of Anglican theology. One of them has said that not a single path was left untrodden which seemed likely to lead to fresh sources of knowledge. Slowly the little band became convinced, and their convictions rested on the Church of England. The result was that on September 13, 1722, they met the trustees of the college in the college library, and read a simple and honourable statement of their belief. Woe and consternation smote the ranks of the Puritans; nor was their anxiety lessened by a public disputation at which the converts unmasked the old sophistry which asserts that Episcopacy has no scriptural warrant because in the New Testament the name *episkopos* is applied to presbyters. Their opponents showed the honesty of their dismay by appointing a day of prayer and fasting to avert the wrath of the Almighty.

Cutler went to England for ordination, and both he and his friends worked with such success that within a generation the Church had penetrated all the principal strongholds of Dissent in New England. While the religion of the Anglicans in the middle States tended to be traditional and slack, that in New England was inclined to be historical and devout. The former believed in the Church of the Georges, the latter preferred the Church of the Caroline theologians. The result was seen when the United States declared themselves independent of Great Britain in 1776. About two-thirds of the number of men who framed the constitution of the United States were Anglicans, and neither the American Government nor the English bishops would have been likely to oppose the giving of an episcopate to America after peace was made between the two countries in 1783. But before the end of the war had been officially proclaimed, the clergy of

Connecticut elected Dr. Samuel Seabury, the son of a convert, to be their bishop, and directed him to seek consecration in England or, if it was refused him there, in Scotland. He had to fall back upon the latter alternative. A Concordat was made 'between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland and the now rising Church of Connecticut.' Dr. Seabury was consecrated by three Scottish bishops in the upper room of a house in Aberdeen on November 14, 1784, and thus the Church which had been reduced to 'the shadow of a shade' gave life to a Church which is becoming a mother of nations.

The difference between the two schools of thought in the American Church was very soon illustrated. On April 1, 1786, was published a book called 'The Book of Common Prayer, as revised and proposed to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church.' It was the work of a committee entrusted with large powers by the General Convention of the Church, the most important member of the committee being the Rev. Dr. William Smith of Maryland. The book is a melancholy proof of the influence exercised in America by English Deistic and infidel writers, and it shows that readiness to depart from definite Christianity which fully revealed itself a generation later when Unitarianism made havoc of American Puritanism.[1] The Nicene Creed and the Athanasian were entirely dropped; the clause 'He descended into hell' was omitted from the Apostles' Creed; passages implying baptismal regeneration were omitted; passages dealing with absolution were altered; and the use of the *Gloria*

[1] The great outbreak of American Unitarianism came in 1815. Of the 366 Unitarian congregations which existed in the United States in 1882, at least 120 were descended from Puritan congregations, including the first church of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. Many English Presbyterian and some Irish Presbyterian congregations have become Unitarian. On the Continent the Calvinists have largely become Unitarian.

with its praise of the Holy Trinity was reduced to a minimum.

The 'proposed' book was greeted with a chorus of protests, and these protests came in the most earnest form from the Northern States. Bishop Seabury not only spoke strongly to his clergy against some of the changes, but also issued a Communion Office almost identical with the Scottish Office of 1764. Certain English bishops also wrote to express their grief, and when it was unanimously determined in the Southern States to retain the Nicene Creed, they showed their satisfaction by consecrating two American bishops[1] for America at Lambeth Palace on February 4, 1787. In October 1789 the Church in the United States was united in one Convention, and a new rescension of the Book of Common Prayer was rapidly completed. With a few important later changes this book of 1789 remains the Prayer Book of the Church of the United States.

The American book is, on the whole, the monument of a conservative victory. In spite of opposition from New England, the Athanasian Creed was omitted, but the Communion Office is emphatically more primitive in tone than the English. Owing to the influence of Bishop Seabury, the Scottish Office was in a great measure taken as the basis for the American. Permission was given to say after the Commandments our Lord's summary of the Law; the *Gloria tibi* was ordered to be said after the announcement of the Gospel; the words 'here in earth' were significantly omitted from the title of the Prayer for the Church Militant; an alternative but thoroughly orthodox preface was provided for Trinity Sunday; and the 'Black Rubric' was

[1] These were Dr. White for Pennsylvania and Dr. Provoost for New York: Dr. Madison was afterwards consecrated in England for Virginia. They appear to have been bishops of the Georgian type, and greatly neglected their episcopal duties.

omitted. The most important change in the whole book is the adoption, with only a slight modification, of the Scottish form of consecration. After the narrative of the Institution comes the Oblation of the 'gifts.' Then comes the Invocation of the Word and Holy Spirit to sanctify the bread and wine 'that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Savour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.' The prayer for the acceptance of this sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving follows as in the Scottish Office.

Upon the other services a less favourable verdict must be passed. We can only wonder at the curious niceness which changed the words in the *Te Deum* 'Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb' into 'Thou didst humble thyself to be born of a Virgin,' at the reduction of the *Benedictus* to four verses, and at the omission of both the Gospel canticles from Evensong. Permission was given to use the words 'He went into the place of departed spirits' instead of 'He descended into hell' in the Apostles' Creed, and permission was given to omit the sign of the cross in Baptism. It does not appear that any dioceses availed themselves of this permission. Both at Morning and Evening Prayer permission was given to use the Nicene Creed instead of the Apostles', and the *Gloria in excelsis*, originally a hymn for Mattins, was permitted to be used at the end of the portion of Psalms for the day. On one point only can it be said that the Latitudinarian party succeeded in minimising the ancient doctrine of the Church. That is with regard to private confession. In the Visitation of the Sick the rubric as to a special confession and the special absolution were omitted, although the earlier form of reconciliation (the prayer beginning 'O most merciful God') was retained. Similarly, in the exhortation in the Communion Service

the mention of absolution is omitted, although the penitent is still bidden to 'open his grief.' Lastly, in the Ordinal published in 1792 an alternative form was provided in the laying on of hands in the Ordination of Priests, omitting the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' etc., and also 'whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.' The old form is still given the place of dignity in the American book, and the new form is orthodox. But the adoption of the new form was a concession to popular prejudice, and as such was naturally opposed by Bishop Seabury. It was probably no recommendation in Bishop Seabury's eyes that the new form was advocated by the notorious Bishop Provoost, who afterwards studied Tasso instead of tending his flock, and at a critical moment of Church life all but persisted in refusing to join in the consecration of a bishop, because the other bishops then present wore no wigs.

The American Prayer Book was revised in 1886, 1889, and 1892. Certain marked improvements have been made. The most important are the appointment of Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the festival of the Transfiguration and for the first celebrations on Christmas Day and Easter Day; the restoration of the complete *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc dimittis*; and a rule making the use of the Nicene Creed compulsory on the five greatest festivals of the year.

It is necessary to add a few words concerning the modern history of the Book of Common Prayer in Ireland. We have already noticed the introduction of the English book and its translation into Irish Gaelic. The civil union of the two countries was followed by the complete union of the Churches in 1800; and the Book of Common Prayer was officially printed 'according to the use of the United Church of

England and Ireland.' The Irish Church was disestablished in 1869, the disestablishment taking full effect January 1, 1871. The General Convention or Synod of the Church, instead of maintaining the closest possible union with the sister Church of England, revised the Prayer Book, and issued their revision in 1877.

The changes in the actual book itself are few. It should be noticed, however, that the Athanasian Creed is no longer directed to be used, though still printed. The absolution in the Visitation of the Sick is replaced by that in the Communion Service. Parents are allowed to be sponsors for their own children. In the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony the opening address is shortened. Marked improvements upon the English form are to be seen in the adoption of a second Epistle and Gospel for the Holy Communion on Easter Day, and also on Christmas Day. With them are provided two exquisite collects from the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. That for Christmas Day is the collect for the Mass of Christmas Eve in the Sarum Missal; that for Easter Day is the Sarum collect said before the Mattins of Easter Day. The Church of Ireland has also wisely introduced:—(1) *A Prayer for Unity*; (2) *For a Sick Person*; (3) *On Rogation Days*; (4) *On New Year's Day*; (5) *For Christian Missions*; (6) *A Prayer for the General Synod of the Church of Ireland*; (7) *A Prayer to be used in Colleges and Schools*, based on a prayer composed by Erasmus; (8) *A Thanksgiving for Recovery from Sickness*. A few additional services are provided, including a Form for the Consecration of a Church.

Any satisfaction which is afforded to devout minds by the above changes is unhappily outweighed by the new Preface to the Irish Prayer Book, and by certain canons drawn up in 1871 and 1877, and printed with the Prayer Book. If Roman theologians are justified

in accusing the French Breviaries of the eighteenth century of a Jansenist tendency, Anglican theologians are more than justified in accusing the Irish Prayer Book of a Calvinistic tendency. The canons mark a return to the English Prayer Book of 1552. The use of wafer bread, of the mixed chalice, of Eucharistic vestments, of altar lights, of incense, and of the cross on or near the 'Communion Table,' is prohibited. Moreever, the rubric prefixed to the Holy Communion directing the celebrant to stand at the north 'side' of the Table is interpreted in Canon 5 as synonymous with the north 'end,' this inconvenient position being rendered compulsory in order to protest against ordinary Catholic usage. The Preface manifests the same Puritan temper. A passage on private confession is so worded as to depreciate the value set upon confession and absolution by the original compilers of the Book of Common Prayer. The skilfully reticent and ambiguous passage on the Order of Baptism can have no real meaning attached to it unless it is understood as a permission to deny the truth of baptismal regeneration. And with regard to the Eucharist the Preface says: 'As for the error of those who have taught that Christ has given Himself or His Body and Blood in this Sacrament, to be reserved, lifted up, carried about, or worshipped, under the veils of Bread and Wine,[1] we have already in the Canons prohibited such acts and gestures as might be grounded on it, or lead thereto.' So that whereas the Church of Ireland retains the statement of the Catechism that the Body and Blood of Christ, which are 'the inward part' of the Lord's

[1] The reader will observe what kind of use the authors of this Preface made of the 28th Article. The Article says that 'the *Sacrament* of the Lord's Supper was not *by Christ's ordinance* . . . worshipped'; in the Preface the word 'Sacrament' is replaced by 'Himself or His Body and Blood in this Sacrament,' and 'not worshipped by Christ's ordinance' is practically replaced by 'not given to be worshipped.'

Supper, 'are verily and indeed taken' (and therefore given by Christ), it denies that the Body and Blood of Christ ought therein to be adored. The whole passage, and also the passage on Baptism, if not openly heretical, speaks with an heretical brogue.

SCOTTISH AND AMERICAN OFFICES

Comparison of the Canon of the Scottish Office (1764) *with Bishop Seabury's* (1786) *and that of the American Office.*

Scottish, 1764; Bp. Seabury, 1786.	American.
After the Preface, ending with the *Sanctus.*	
	Then shall the Priest, kneeling down at the Lord's Table, say in the name of all those who shall receive the Communion, this Prayer following.
	We do not presume, etc.
Then the Presbyter [*Priest* (1786)], *standing at such a part of the holy table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands,*	*When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands, he*

shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth.

All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that Thou of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine [Thy (1764 and 1786)] only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption;

Who (by His own oblation of Himself once offered) made	Who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) [*A.* and 1786.]

a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory [memorial (1764)] of that His precious death and sacrifice until

Scottish, 1764; Bp. Seabury, 1786.	American.
The Institution. His coming again: For in the night that [in which *A.*] He was betrayed, He took bread, etc. . . .	
The Oblation. Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty with these Thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance His blessed passion, and precious death, His mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.	
The Invocation. And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit, these Thy gifts and creatures of bread	
and wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son.	and wine; that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.

And we earnestly desire Thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of prai. and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we, and all Thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion. And here we [humbly (1764)] offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively [living *A.*] sacrifice unto Thee, [humbly (1786 and *A.*)] beseeching Thee, that whosoever [we and all others who (1786 and *A.*)] shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ, [and (1764)] be filled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one Body with Him, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus [Jesus Christ (1786 and *A.*)] our Lord: by Whom, and with Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

Scottish, 1764; Bp. Seabury, 1786.

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

The Intercession.

Almighty and everliving God, who by Thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; We humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto Thy Divine Majesty; beseeching Thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord; and grant that all they that [who (1786)] do confess Thy holy Name, may agree in the truth of Thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech Thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and especially Thy servant our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole council, and to all who are put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of Thy true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth Thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer Thy holy Sacraments: and to all Thy people give Thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart, and due reverence, they may hear and receive Thy holy Word, truly serving Thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we commend especially to Thy merciful goodness the congregation [which is (1764)] here assembled in Thy Name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of Thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And we most humbly beseech Thee of Thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless Thy holy Name for all Thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all Thy saints, who have been the choice vessels

[In the American Office, the Prayer 'for the whole state of Christ's Church militant' and the Lord's Prayer occupy the same places as in the English rite.]

[Governors; and grant that they, and all who are in authority, may truly and impartially minister (*Bp. Seabury*, 1786)]

[labours: yielding unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful good-

Scottish, 1764; Bp. Seabury, 1786.

of Thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching Thee to give us grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in Thy faith, and obedience to Thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical Body of Thy Son, may be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

ness and virtue (*Bp. Seabury*, 1786)]

Our Father, with Preface.

Then shall the Presbyter say [omitted 1786]

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

Our Father . . . For Thine is the kingdom . . . Amen.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1498. First edition of the Sarum Missal printed in England.
1500. Mozarabic Missal printed at Toledo.
1500-1502. Mozarabic Breviary printed at Toledo.
1502. The Hereford Missal printed at Rouen.[1]
1509. Accession of HENRY VIII.
1526. Tyndale's English New Testament.
1528. Liturgy of S. Chrysostom printed at Venice.
1529. Luther's revised Litany at Wittenberg.
1533. The York Missal printed at Paris.
Church of England rejects Papal supremacy.
Lutheran *Kirchen-Ordnung* of Brandenburg and Nürnberg.
1534. First reformed English Primer.
1535. Marshall's Primer.
Reformed Roman Breviary by Cardinal Quiñones.
Coverdale's Bible.
1537. Matthew's Bible.
1539. Bishop Hilsey's Primer.
The Great Bible. Taverner's Bible
1541. First reformed Sarum Breviary.
1542. Adoption of Sarum Breviary throughout the province of Canterbury.
Bugenhagen's Lutheran service for Schleswig-Holstein.
1543. Committee of Convocation to examine the Service Books.
A chapter to be read after *Te Deum* and *Magnificat* every Sunday and holy day.
The *Consultation* of Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cöln.
1544. The Litany sung in English.
1545. King Henry's Primer.

[1] In the library of S. John's College, Oxford, is preserved a copy of the second edition of this Missal (1510). It contains a manuscript Latin prayer for Henry VIII. and his *wife*. The priest who used it erased the names of two of Henry's wives and then decided to leave a blank space.

1547. *Jan.* 28.—Accession of Edward VI.
July.—The whole Bible in English, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus, ordered to be placed in churches.
First Book of Homilies.
Oct.—Hermann's *Consultation* in English.
Nov.—Peter Martyr in England.
Dec.—Communion in both kinds approved by Convocation and by Parliament.

1548. *Jan.* 28.—Second year of Edward VI. begins.
Revised English translation of Hermann's *Consultation.*
March 8.—The English *Order of the Communion.*
May.—The Augsburg *Interim,* a manifesto of the Emperor adverse to the reformers, causes continental Protestants to come to England.
Among them was Pullain or Pollanus of Strassburg, whose liturgy has been thought to have suggested the use of the Decalogue in the Second Prayer Book.
July.—Cranmer's Catechism (Cranmer afterwards confessed that he had given up a belief in the Real Presence before this was published).
Oct.—A Lasco the Zwinglian in England.
Calvin writes to encourage the Protector Somerset.
Nov.—(?) Book of Common Prayer sanctioned by Convocation.
Dec. 14.—Disputation on the Sacrament; Cranmer defends the Receptionist doctrine.

1549. *Jan.* 15.—The First Act of Uniformity.
Jan. 28.—Second year of Edward VI. ends.
April.—Bucer arrives in England.
June 9.—The First Prayer Book used.
June 24.—The Council, without the consent of the Church, issues letters and instructions to curtail the mediæval ceremonial.

1550. *Feb.* 28.—The new Ordinal.

1551. *Jan.* 5.—Bucer delivers to the Bishop of Ely a *censura* or criticism of the Prayer Book, in which he objects to vestments, and thinks that a superstitious notion as to the effect of consecration is implied in the direction to place on the altar only so much bread and wine as is sufficient for the communicants.
Latin version of Prayer Book by Alane.
Peter Martyr objects to reservation of the Sacrament for the sick.
Feb. 23.—Pollanus publishes the Strassburg service, *Liturgia Peregrinorum.*
Feb. 28.—Death of Bucer.

1551. *Oct.* 16.—Somerset committed to the Tower of London.
1552. *April.*—The Second Act of Uniformity declares that the Second Prayer Book will explain the First.
The Forty-two Articles circulated by Cranmer without the authority of the Church.
Oct. 27.—Order of Council to add the *Declaration about kneeling at Communion* (commonly called the Black Rubric).
Nov.—The Second Prayer Book used.
1553. *Mar.* 25.—Poynet's Catechism.
The Second Prayer Book in French for the Channel Islands; the First had also been translated.
July 6.—Accession of MARY.
1557. Last edition of the Sarum Missal.
1558. *Nov.* 17.—Accession of ELIZABETH.
Dec.—Two editions of the Litany published.
A Committee of Divines at Sir T. Smith's house.
1559. *Jan.* 24.—Convocation meets and asserts Papal supremacy and the doctrine of Transubstantiation.
1559. *Mar.* 31.—A disputation at Westminster.
An English Primer published.
April 18.—Parliament asserts supremacy of the Crown.
April 28.—The Third Act of Uniformity establishes the revised Prayer Book.
June 24.—The revised Prayer Book comes into use.
1560. Haddon's Latin Prayer Book.
The Irish Act of Uniformity authorises the Prayer Book in Latin.
The *Geneva* Bible.
1563. The Thirty-nine Articles.
Nowell's Catechism.
The *Second Book of Homilies.*
1566. Parker's *Advertisements,* enforcing a minimum of Church ornaments, etc.
1567. First translation of the Prayer Book in Welsh.
1568. The *Bishops' Bible.*
The revised Roman Breviary.
1570. Pope Pius V. excommunicates Elizabeth.
1571. The Thirty-nine Articles settled, and subscribed by Convocation.
A Latin version of the Prayer Book.
1577. English Romanists begin the use of the reformed Roman Missal.
1585. Death of Goldwell, the last of the Marian bishops.
1588. Translation of the Bible in Welsh by Bishop Morgan.
1592. Presbyterianism established in Scotland.

1603. Accession of JAMES I.
The Millenary Petition.
Translation of the New Testament in Irish Gaelic by Archbishop O'Donnell.
1604. The Conference at Hampton Court.
Changes in the Prayer Book ordered.
1609. Translation of the Prayer Book in Irish Gaelic.
The Douay Roman Catholic version of the Bible.
1610. Translation of the Prayer Book in Manx Gaelic by Bishop Phillips.
Restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland.
1611. The present Authorised Version of the Bible printed.
1616. French translation of the Prayer Book for the Channel Islands.
1621. Second edition of the Prayer Book in Welsh.
1625. Accession of CHARLES I.
1637. The Prayer Book for Scotland.
1638. The General Assembly at Perth abolishes the Prayer Book and Episcopacy.
1643. The *Westminster Assembly* of Presbyterian divines nominated by Parliament.
1645. The Prayer Book suppressed by Parliament.
The *Westminster Assembly* issues a *Directory for Worship*, a *Confession of Faith*, and a *Larger* and *Shorter Catechism*.
1660. Restoration of CHARLES II.
1661. The Savoy Conference.
Commission to Convocation to revise the Prayer Book.
Dec. 20.—The revised Book subscribed by Convocation.
Episcopacy again restored in Scotland.
1662. *Feb.* 24.—The revised Book approved by the King in Council.
May 19.—The Act of Uniformity received the Royal Assent. The Act directed that the Welsh Bishops, with the Bishop of Hereford, should see that the revised Book be translated into the *British* or *Welsh* tongue.
1667. Durel's edition of the French Prayer Book for the Channel Islands.
1685. Accession of JAMES II.
1688. Translation of the Old Testament in Irish Gaelic by Bishop Bedell.
1689. Accession of WILLIAM and MARY.
Episcopacy disestablished in Scotland.
Futile attempt to alter the Prayer Book in the direction of Presbyterianism.
1690. Presbyterianism established in Scotland.

1691. Expulsion of the Nonjurors.
1702. Accession of Anne.
1712. The Prayer Book printed in Irish Gaelic and English.
1714. Accession of George I.
1717. Convocation suspended by Government.
1718. The Liturgy of the Nonjurors.
1727. Accession of George II.
1744. Publication of Bishop Rattray's *Liturgy of Jerusalem*.
1746. Increased repression of Episcopal worship in Scotland.
1760. Accession of George III.
1764. The Scottish Communion Office completed.
1765. Second version of the Prayer Book in Manx Gaelic by Manx clergy.[1]
1772. Complete translation of the Bible in Manx Gaelic.
1784. Dr. Seabury consecrated at Aberdeen to be the first bishop in the United States.
1786. 'Proposed Book' (of Unitarian tendencies) published for the American Church, and rejected.
1787. Two bishops consecrated at Lambeth for America.
1789. American revision of the Prayer Book; the Communion Office based on the Scottish.
1797. First translation of Scottish Communion Office in Scottish Gaelic.
1820. Accession of George IV.
1830. Accession of William IV.
1837. Accession of Victoria.
1850. Convocation revived.
1870. The *Lectionary* revised.
1872. Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, by which Parliament permitted the mutilation of divine service on week-days.
1874. Public Worship Regulation Act, by which Parliament attempted to mutilate the ceremonial of the Church.
1877. Revision of the Prayer Book by the Church of Ireland.
1886-1889-1892. Revision of the American Prayer Book.
1895. Complete revised version of the Prayer Book in Scottish Gaelic.

[1] The two Manx versions of the Book of Common Prayer were printed side by side in two volumes at the Oxford University Press in 1893 for the 'Manx Society.' Manx Gaelic is now nearly extinct, and public worship is performed entirely in English.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE SARUM CANON OF THE MASS AND THAT OF THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK

	The Sarum Missal.[1]	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.
		Almighty and ever-living God, which by Thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men:
	THE CANON.	
Te igitur.	Therefore, we humbly beg and beseech Thee, O most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord [*here rising let him kiss the altar to the right of the sacrifice, saying,*] to accept	We humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to receive
	and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy undefiled sacrifices, [*after making little signs upon the chalice let him raise his hands while saying,*] which we offer to Thee especially for Thy holy Catholic Church which vouchsafe to keep in	these our prayers, which we offer unto Thy divine Majesty, beseeching Thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity,

[1] It should be noted that the Sarum rubrics, here printed in italics, are much later in date than the prayers, and not always consistent with them.

The Sarum Missal.	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.
peace, to guard, unite, and govern throughout the world,	and concord. And grant that all they that do confess Thy holy Name may agree in the truth of Thy holy word and live in unity and godly love.
together with Thy servant our Pope *N.*, and our Bishop *N.*, and our King *N.*	[All Bishops, Pastors and Curates.][1] Specially we beseech Thee to save and defend Thy servant Edward our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed. And grant unto his whole council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Pastors, and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth Thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer Thy holy Sacraments;
and all orthodox professing the Catholic and Apostolic faith.	and to all Thy people give Thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive Thy holy word, truly serving Thee in
Here let him pray for the living.	holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.
Remember, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, *N.* and *N.*	And we most humbly beseech *Memento.* Thee of Thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.

[1] All passages in this column of Appendix A which are enclosed in square brackets have been transposed to facilitate comparison.

The Sarum Missal.	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.
and all those standing around, whose faith and devotion are known to Thee, for whom we offer to Thee, or who offer unto Thee this sacrifice of praise, for themselves, and all that belong to them, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety: and who pay their vows to Thee, the everlasting, living, and true God.	And especially we commend unto Thy merciful goodness this congregation which is here assembled in Thy Name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of Thy Son.
Communicantes. Communicating with, and venerating the memory	And here we do give unto Thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all Thy Saints, from the beginning of the world:
in the first place of the glorious ever Virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ:	and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs,
as also of Thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs Peter, Paul, Andrew, etc. etc., and all Thy Saints; by whose merits and prayers mayest Thou grant, that in all things we may be defended by the help of Thy protection. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.	whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in Thy faith, and keeping Thy holy commandments, grant us to follow.
	[*The commemoration of the dead*[1] *follows here, but for the sake*

[1] The revisers of our Liturgy placed this prayer here, putting it in connection with the commemoration of the living and of the saints in accordance with ordinary primitive usage. This is a distinct improvement upon the Sarum Canon.

The Sarum Missal.	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.	
	of brevity is transferred to the place corresponding with the Sarum Canon of the Mass.]	
Here let the Priest regard the host with great veneration, saying:		
This oblation therefore of our service, as also of Thy whole family, we beseech Thee, O Lord, favourably [placatus] to accept, and to dispose our days in Thy peace, that we may be rescued from eternal damnation, and be numbered in the flock of Thine elect. Through Christ, our Lord. Amen. [*Here again let him look at the host, saying:*] Which oblation do Thou, Almighty God, we beseech Thee, in all things vouchsafe to make bles ✠ sed, appro ✠ ved, rati ✠ fied, reasonable, and acceptable,	O God, heavenly Father, which of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son Jesu Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, Who made there (by His one oblation once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in His holy Gospel command us to celebrate, a perpetual memory of that His precious death until His coming again:	*Hanc igitur.*
	Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl ✠ ess [1]	*Quam oblationem.*
	and sanc ✠ tify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine	
that it may become	that they may be	
to us the Bo ✠ dy and Blo ✠ od of Thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, [*here let the Priest raise and join his hands: and after cleanse his fingers and elevate the host, saying:*] Who the day before He suffered, took bread	unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly-beloved Son Jesus Christ,	
	Who, in the same night that He was betrayed, took bread (*here*	*Qui pridie.*

[1] In the ancient Eastern liturgies, and in the Scottish and American liturgies, this prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit and word is placed after the narrative of the Institution, corresponding with the position of the *Supplices te rogamus* (see p. 306).

The Sarum Missal.	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.
into His holy and venerable hands, and with eyes lifted up to heaven [*here let him raise his own eyes*], to Thee, O God, His Father Almighty, [*here let him incline himself and afterward raise a little, saying:*] giving thanks to Thee, He bles ✠ sed, brake [*here let him touch the host*], and gave to His disciples saying, Take, and eat ye all of this	*the Priest must take the bread into his hands*), and when He had blessed, and given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat,
[*These are the words of Consecration*]. For this is My Body.	this is My Body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of Me.
And these words ought to be brought out with one breath and at one utterance, no pause being introduced. After these words let the priest [*bow to the host and*] *elevate it above his forehead that it may be seen by the people: and reverently replace it in front of the chalice, making with it the sign of the cross. And then let him uncover the chalice and hold it between his hands not disjoining his thumb from his forefinger, save when he is giving the blessings, saying thus:*	
Likewise after supper, taking also this excellent cup into His holy and venerable hands [*here he bows, saying:*], also giving thanks to Thee, He blessed it, and gave it to His disciples, saying,	Likewise after supper, He took the cup (*here the Priest shall take the cup into his hands*), and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying,

THE SARUM MISSAL.	THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1549.
Take, and drink ye all of it; [*here let the Priest elevate the chalice for a moment, saying thus*] for this is the Cup of My Blood of the New and eternal Testament, the Mystery of Faith; which for you, and for many, shall be shed for remission of sins.	Drink ye all of this; for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for remission of sins:
[*Here let him elevate the chalice, saying:*]	
As often as ye shall do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of Me.	Do this, as oft as you shall drink it, in remembrance of Me.
Here let him replace the chalice and raise his arms in the fashion of a cross, his fingers being joined, until the words Of thy gifts, *saying on this wise:*	*The words before rehearsed are to be said, turning still to the altar, without any elevation, or showing the Sacrament to the people.*
Wherefore, O Lord,	Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the Institution of Thy dearly-beloved Son, our Saviour Jesu Christ, we Thy humble servants, *Unde et memores*
we Thy servants and likewise Thy holy people, do offer to Thy excellent Majesty of Thy gifts and bounties, a pure ✠ host, a holy ✠ host, a spotless ✠ host, the holy ✠ bread of eternal life, and the cup ✠ of everlasting salvation; having in remembrance as well the blessed passion of the same Christ Thy Son our Lord God, as also His resurrection from	do celebrate and make here before Thy divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make: having in remembrance His blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension,

The Sarum Missal.	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.
the dead, and likewise His glorious ascension into heaven.	
Supra quae. Upon which *things* (*quae*) vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance;	rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks, for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring Thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this
and accept them as Thou didst vouchsafe to accept the presents of Thy just servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which Thy high priest Melchisedec offered to Thee, a holy sacrifice, a spotless host.	our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion. And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourself, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee:
Then let the Priest with body bowed and hands folded (*cancellatis*) *say:*	
Supplices te rogamus. We humbly beseech Thee, O Almighty God, command these *things* (*haec*) to be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thine altar on high in the sight of Thy divine Majesty,	humbly beseeching Thee, [command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of Thy holy Angels, to be brought up into Thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of Thy divine Majesty];
that as many of us as shall	that whosoever shall be

THE SARUM MISSAL.	THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1549.
[*here raising himself let him kiss the altar on the right of the sacrifice*] by this participation of the altar,	partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily
receive the most holy Bo✠dy and Blo✠od of Thy Son,	receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ,
may be fulfilled with [*here let him sign himself on the face*] all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.[1]	and be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction,
	and made one Body with Thy Son Jesu Christ, that He may dwell in them, and they in Him.
Here let him pray for the dead.	
Remember also, O Lord, the souls of Thy servants and handmaidens, *N.* and *N.*, who have gone before us,	[We commend unto Thy mercy, O Lord, all other Thy servants which are departed hence from us, *Memento etiam.*
with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace:	with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace;
We beseech Thee to grant unto them, O Lord,	Grant unto them, we beseech Thee,
and to all who rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and	Thy mercy and everlasting peace,
peace.	
Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.	and that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of Thy Son, may altogether be set on His right

[1] This is the prayer which, in primitive times, completed the consecration. It corresponds with the Greek Epiklesis.

	The Sarum Missal.	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.
		hand, and hear that His most joyful voice: Come unto Me, O ye that be blessed of My Father, and possess the kingdom, which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world; grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate.][1]
	Here let him strike his own breast once, saying:	
Nobis quoque.	To us sinners also Thy servants, hoping in the multitude of Thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs: with John, Stephen, etc., with all Thy Saints, into whose company do Thou, we beseech Thee, admit us,	And although we be unworthy through our manifold sins
		to offer unto Thee any Sacrifice; yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of Thy holy Angels, to be brought up into Thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of Thy divine Majesty;
	not weighing our merit, but bestowing Thy pardon, through Christ our Lord.	not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord:
Per quem haec omnia.	Through Whom, O Lord, Thou dost ever create [*here the Priest shall sign the cup thrice, saying:*] sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow upon us all these good things.[2]	

[1] Transposed from the place previously noted in p. 302, the words being used *prior* to the consecration.

[2] This was in primitive times a dedication of fruits of the earth.

The Sarum Missal.	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.
[*Here let the Priest uncover the chalice and make a little cross with the host, five times: first, over the chalice on either side; second, level with the chalice; third, at its foot; the fourth being like the first one; the fifth, in front of it.*]	
By ✠ Him, and with ✠ Him, and in ✠ Him, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory is unto Thee, O God the Father Almighty [*here let the Priest cover the chalice, and hold his hands on the altar until* Pater noster *is said, saying:*] world without end. Amen.	by Whom, and with Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.
Let us pray. Admonished by salutary precepts, and directed by divine instruction, we are bold to say, [*here let the deacon receive the paten and hold it high on the right of the priest, with outstretched arm, until* 'bestow peace.' *Here let the Priest raise his hands, saying:*]	Let us pray. As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,
Our Father, etc.	Our Father, etc. *Pater*
Choir. But deliver us from evil.	*The Answer.* But deliver us *noster.* from evil.
The Priest, privately, Amen. Deliver us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present, and to come; and at the intercession of the blessed and glorious Mary, ever Virgin and Mother of God, and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew and all the Saints; [*here let the deacon give the paten to the Priest, kissing his hand: and the Priest shall kiss the paten: afterwards put*	Amen. *Libera nos.*

The Sarum Missal.	The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.
it to his left eye, and then to his right: afterwards making a cross with the paten above his head, and then replace it in its own place, saying:] graciously bestow peace in our days; that, assisted by the help of Thy mercy, we may be both ever free from sin, and secure from all disquiet. [*Here let him uncover the chalice and, bowing, take the Body, transferring it into the hollow of the chalice and retaining it there between his thumbs and forefingers, let him break it into three parts, while he says:*] Through the same our Lord, Jesus Christ, Thy Son. [*At the second breaking*] Who with Thee liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Spirit, God, world without end. Amen.	

APPENDIX B

THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC AND THE SUPPOSED PROHIBITION OF ANCIENT CEREMONIES

The rubric, which is printed immediately before the Order for Morning Prayer, runs as follows:—

'And here is to be noted that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of *England*, by the Authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King *Edward* the Sixth.'

This is simply a more emphatic form of the Ornaments rubric inserted in 1559, and again, with a slightly different spelling, in 1604. It was deliberately kept in 1661 in spite of the objections raised against it by the Puritans. It has been disputed whether the ornaments in question are those actually in use in the second year of the reign of Edward VI. (January 28, 1548—

January 27, 1549), or those prescribed in the First Prayer Book annexed to the Act of Uniformity which passed the House of Commons on January 21, 1549, and came into force on June 9, 1549. If the latter alternative is correct, the rubric at least commands the use of the Mass vestments, the cope, the surplice and pastoral staff, and does not prohibit the use of cross, candlesticks, censer, and mitre.

Those who interpret the rubric according to the latter alternative, hold that the words 'in the second year,' etc., define the date when Parliament sanctioned the ornaments. Those who adopt the former alternative, hold that the rubric enjoins the continued use of the ornaments which were employed immediately before the First Prayer Book came into use, that is, in the partially reformed services of 1548. They urge that the First Prayer Book was *not* 'in use' in the second year of Edward VI., as it was not employed until Whitsunday, June 9, 1549. This was in the third year of Edward VI. It should be noticed that when the Ornaments rubric was inserted in the time of Elizabeth, Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, who was one of the committee which revised the Prayer Book in 1559, said, 'The last Book of Service is gone through with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward VI. [*i.e.* 1547-1548], until it please the Queen to take other order for them.' Nothing could be clearer than this statement. It is contemporary evidence of the highest value, showing that it was intended to use the ornaments employed in the partially reformed services. And this evidence entirely agrees with the important evidence which we have with regard to the Queen's wishes. It accorded neither with her conscience nor with her policy to drive old-fashioned members of the Church of England into the arms of Rome.

It therefore seems reasonable that this interpretation of the rubric should be accepted as the only real meaning, and that no attempt need be made to suggest that the rubric only sanctions the ornaments expressly mentioned in the Prayer Book of 1549.

It is necessary to add, that even if the Ornaments rubric does refer to the Prayer Book of 1549, this is no proof that all the ornaments of 1548 are illegal except those mentioned in the Prayer Book of 1549. No one can have known the meaning of the Ornaments rubric of 1559 better than Elizabeth, and in Elizabeth's chapel there were not only employed such ornaments as the cope, which *is* mentioned in the Prayer Book of 1549, but also the crucifix and houselling cloth, which *are not*. Several learned Anglican bishops have practically decided that the rubric does not exclude all the ornaments of 1548 not mentioned in the Prayer Book of 1549 by adopting the use of

the mitre—an ornament which is not directed to be worn in the First Prayer Book. They have followed no less an example than that of Cranmer himself who, according to Strype (*Cranmer*, ii. ch. xxiv.), wore a mitre on June 29, 1550. The authority for using the censer is the same as that for using the mitre. The chief times of 'ministration' at which the censer was employed in 1548 were at the reading of the Gospel, at the Offertory, and at the Magnificat.

Exactly the same argument applies to ceremonies as that which applies to ornaments. It has lately been asserted that the Prayer Book and the Acts of Uniformity to which it was annexed, forbid all ceremonies which the Prayer Book does not direct, and even forbid the ceremonies connected with certain ornaments which are enjoined. The omission of a command to employ a ceremony is therefore interpreted as the prohibition of a ceremony. This theory reads into the Prayer Book an essentially modern notion of Roman origin, viz. that it is necessary or desirable for the clergy to have absolutely complete and minute directions printed for their guidance in celebrating divine worship. No ancient Service Book was printed on such a principle. It was assumed that clergymen learned the ceremonies from one another.

It is, however, only necessary to quote the various editions of the Book of Common Prayer in order to prove that, until recently, it was not and could not be supposed that a ceremony is necessarily illegal if not explicitly enjoined.

1. The Book of 1549 furnishes us with some notable examples. One instance, showing evidence of haste in the compilation of the book, is to be found among the prefaces of the Mass. The preface for the Feast of Trinity says, 'That which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality, Whom the Angels,' etc. The middle of the preface is then omitted, and it was therefore impossible to continue it without having recourse to the mediæval Missals which supply the missing portion, 'whom the Angels *and the Archangels praise, the Cherubin also and the Seraphin, who cease not to cry, with one voice saying*, Holy, Holy, Holy,' etc. No one can reasonably pretend that English priests in 1549 were 'prohibited' from reciting the 'omitted words.'

2. The Prayer Book of 1552 in the Communion of the Sick contains no form whatever for the consecration of the Sacrament. In the service of 1549 the Canon was mentioned but not printed; in 1552 it is neither mentioned nor printed. In spite of the spirit which marked the book of 1552, it would be a bold thing indeed to affirm that the clergy were 'prohibited' from consecrating the elements given to the sick.

3. The Prayer Book of 1559 has the same omission.

4. The Prayer Book of 1604 contains the same strange omission. It also contains no mention whatever of the sign of the cross at Confirmation. But the quotation from Bishop Montague, which we have printed on page 209, makes it plain that bishops of the time of Charles I. did not regard themselves as 'prohibited' from using the sign of the cross in this particularly open manner.

5. From 1552 to 1661 the prayer of consecration in the service of Holy Communion contained no direction for the manual acts of taking and breaking the bread. Yet it is certain that in most places these acts continued to be performed. They are expressly mentioned in Cosin, *Works*, vol. v. p. 516 (Oxford, 1855), and the 'taking' is mentioned by Hamon L'Estrange, *Alliance of Divine Offices*, p. 317 (Oxford, 1846), while the 'breaking' is referred to by Andrewes, *Works*, vol. xi. p. 157 (Oxford, 1854).

6. The Prayer Book of 1661, while it remedies some of the above-mentioned defects, also contains omissions which show that traditional practices are sometimes presupposed. It is directed that the people shall stand during the Nicene Creed. They are not directed to kneel until the Confession. But it has been the traditional practice to kneel during the Prayer for the Church Militant; and there is no reason to doubt that the revisers in 1661 intended that the people should do so. Again, it is well known that in our present Baptismal Service no direction is given to the priest as to when he should return the child to the godparents. The omission, instead of being trivial, is one of some importance, for the priest has to decide whether the sign of the cross should be made while the child is in his arms or not. But the question is at once solved by a reference to the Sarum Manual, which shows that the child should be taken by the godparents immediately after the actual Baptism, and then signed with the cross.

APPENDIX C

THE MOZARABIC CANON OF THE MASS

It does not seem to have been sufficiently observed that the Roman Church, in still tolerating the existence of the Mozarabic rite at Toledo, has preserved the most convincing proof that in the West as well as in the East the words, 'This is My Body'—'This is My Blood,' did not alone constitute the form of consecrating the Eucharist. The narrative of the Institution is im-

mediately followed by a prayer called the Post-pridie, and on some of the older festivals this is simply a prayer for the consecration of the elements, although it is no longer understood in that sense. In the Gallican rite the corresponding prayer is called the Post-secreta. After the Sanctus the Mozarabic Canon of the Mass runs as follows on Christmas Day and Easter Day.

CHRISTMAS DAY.

Post-sanctus.

Truly holy, truly blessed is our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, Who came from heaven, that He might dwell upon earth: was made flesh that He might dwell in us, Christ the Lord and everlasting Redeemer.

EASTER DAY.

Post-sanctus.

Truly holy, truly blessed is our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, Whom three days since we mourned as dead, and to-day we rejoice that by His own might He hath been raised from hell. Who by His death hath overcome the devil not by might but by righteousness, and by the glory of His Resurrection hath made open to sinners the way of return to heaven, Christ the Lord and everlasting Redeemer.

Let the presbyter bend himself before the altar.

Be present, be present, Jesu the good High Priest, in the midst of us as Thou wast in the midst of Thy disciples and hallow this oblation that we may take the things sanctified by the hands of Thy holy angel, Holy Lord, and everlasting Redeemer. [These words are almost certainly an interpolation. They do not occur in the ancient Gallican forms, which immediately after the *Post-sanctus* continue *Who the day before* (pridie), etc. Moreover, the Mozarabic prayer after the narrative of Institution is still called the *Post-pridie*, although the word *pridie* no longer occurs. It therefore seems plain that the Mozarabic form was originally nearer to the Gallican.]

Our Lord Jesus Christ on the night in which He was betrayed, took bread, and giving thanks, He blessed and brake it: and gave it to His disciples saying, Take, and eat. This is My Body which shall be given for you. As often as ye shall eat it, do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise also the cup after He supped, saying, This is the cup of the New Testament in My Blood, which shall be shed for you and for many for the

remission of sins. As often as ye shall drink it, do this in remembrance of Me. Choir. *Amen.*

As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death, until He come in brightness from heaven. Choir. *Amen.*

Post-pridie.

Keeping, O Lord, these Thy gifts and commandments, we set forth upon Thine altar the burnt offerings of bread and wine, beseeching the most abundant goodness of Thy mercy, that by the same Spirit, by Whom undefiled virginity conceived Thee in the flesh, the undivided Trinity may hallow these offerings, etc.

Post-pridie.

We pray Thee, Holy Lord, eternal Father, almighty God, that as our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son by that ineffable giving of thanks offered Himself to Thee for us, and when about to take upon Him our death was heard, so now we also, who seek Him and His life, by performing ministerially what He instituted may be heard, so that this bread offered to Thee with this cup, may by Thy benediction be enriched so as to become the Body and Blood of Thy Son, etc.[1]

Oratio.

Thou granting it, Holy Lord, because Thou for us Thine unworthy servants dost create all these right good things, dost hallow, quicken, bless, and bestow them upon us: that they may be blessed by Thee our God for ever and ever. Choir. *Amen.* [This final prayer was evidently not part of the original consecration; it is directly taken from the Roman *Per quem.*]

[1] On Whitsunday the *Post-pridie* contains these words: 'After the likeness of Whose Body and Blood we bring these presents, and entreat that by Thy deifying power they may obtain the fulness of the fitting sanctification.' This prayer is on that day offered to the Holy Ghost. The sentiment may be compared with that expressed in the Eucharistic prayer of Serapion, p. 13.

APPENDIX D

THE 'BLACK RUBRIC'

It has been a traditional opinion in the Church of England that the Declaration on kneeling, popularly known as the 'Black Rubric,' was deliberately altered in 1661-62 so as to sanction the doctrine of the Real Presence. This traditional opinion has lately been vigorously attacked. Mr. Tomlinson in his *Prayer Book Articles and Homilies*, pp. 264-65, has asserted that the alterations then made 'are merely verbal,' and that the meaning of the Declaration of 1662 is the same as that of 1552, 'essentially Protestant.' He then naturally asks, 'Why did the revisers of 1662 substitute the word "corporal" for the words "real and essential," seeing that they left the meaning of the clause the same as they found it?' He replies, 'The reason clearly was, that men were no longer familiar with the language of the schools.' The theological language of the sixteenth century was, Mr. Tomlinson thinks, unintelligible in the seventeenth, and so the phrase was changed into one which was up to date. He continues, 'The pivot sentence upon which the whole Declaration hung remains unchanged, viz. that the Body of Christ which "*is*" in heaven is "*not* HERE." That was, and is, absolutely fatal to *any* theory of "presence," in the sense of residence within the elements.'

Fortunately for the Church of England, Mr. Tomlinson's statement can be refuted.

Comparatively unnoticed among the better-known liturgical treasures in the library of S. John's College, Oxford, is a copy of the fourth edition of Wheatly's *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, which was bequeathed by the author himself to the library of his college. It had previously been illustrated with valuable notes by Robert Watts (*d.* 1726), another fellow of the college, who had bequeathed it to Wheatly (*d.* 1742). On p. 337 Wheatly points out that in 1662 'the words *real and essential* Presence were thought proper to be chang'd for *corporal Presence*. For,' he adds, 'a doctrine of the *real Presence* of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist is what our Church frequently asserts.' Opposite the words 'chang'd for *corporal Presence*' is the following note in manuscript, 'at y^e^ instance of D. P. G., viz. Dr. Peter

Gunning, as is said by Bp. Burnet in his Preface to his 3rd vol. of the *Hist. Ref.* vol. 3, 1715.'

Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was a man of well-known Catholic principles, and was at the Savoy Conference for the revision of the Prayer Book. Among other things he wished for a restoration of the Sacrament of Unction. He is especially signalised by the Puritan Baxter as a man of 'greater study and industry' than any of the Bishops. Even Burnet, in *History of My Own Time*, says that Gunning was 'a man of great reading,' and 'very honest.'

On referring to the first edition of Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, it will be seen that the author indulges in a scornful criticism of some important person whose name he does not venture to mention. In the margin by the side of this criticism are printed the letters D. P. G. There seems to be no reason for doubting that these are meant to stand for 'Dr. Peter Gunning.' But whoever the person may be, it is quite plain that Burnet knew that he was responsible for the change in the rubric, and also knew that he intended that the meaning of the rubric should be fundamentally altered. 'We know,' says Burnet, 'who was the author of that change, and who pretended that a *Corporal Presence* signified such a Presence as a body naturally has, which the assertors of Transubstantiation itself do not and cannot pretend is in this case, where they say the Body is not present corporally, but spiritually, or as a spirit is present.' We are not concerned with the 'extraordinary subtilty' with which, Burnet says, the person in question supported his argument. The point is that this person asserted that the Body of Christ 'was both in heaven and in the elements.' He believed in the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, and the bishops only consented to the insertion of the Declaration when it had been corrected by this person.

The following therefore seems to be the history of the Declaration on kneeling in 1661-62 :—

1. The Puritans desired the restoration of it in its original form.—Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, p. 322.

2. The Bishops objected.—*Ibid.* p. 354.

3. Bishops Gauden and Morley and the Earl of Southampton were desirous of making concessions to the Puritans in this matter.—Burnet, *Harleian MSS.*, 6584, p. 158.

4. In the meantime the Prayer Book was completed and Convocation dissolved.

5. In February 1662 the Privy Council, of which Southampton was a member, debated on the Prayer Book and directed four of the bishops to meet them.

6. Dr. Gunning showed the Bishops how the Declaration

could be made consistent with the doctrine of the Real Presence.

7. On February 24, the four Bishops showed the Prayer Book to the Board of the Privy Council.

8. Sancroft, secretary of Convocation, added the Declaration in a handwriting different from that of the fair copy of the Prayer Book, and separated from it by a broad red line.

The change was not regarded as favourable to the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, for Burnet says 'the papists were highly offended when they saw such an express declaration against the Real Presence.'—*History of My Own Time*, vol. i. p. 324 (Oxford edit. 1897). Burnet here uses the words 'Real Presence' as equivalent to Transubstantiation. His *History of the Reformation* shows that he fully understood that Gunning would never have made a declaration against a doctrine of the Real Presence which is consistent with the reality of the elements.

Lastly, we may note that certain corrections in the MS. of the Prayer Book are made in the same handwriting as the Declaration on kneeling, and that these corrections were submitted to Convocation. This fact, and the punctilious respect which was paid by the Crown to Convocation at this time, make it possible that Dr. Gunning secured the approval of Convocation for his proposal before Convocation was dissolved. But Burnet's language supports the opposite conclusion, and we have already shown that Burnet was in possession of very valuable information with regard to the Black Rubric. The four copies of the Prayer Book which show us how the revision was carried out, prove conclusively that the Black Rubric was inserted at a very late stage, but they prove no more.

APPENDIX E

COSIN AND THORNDIKE ON RESERVATION OF THE SACRAMENT

THE statement on pp. 234-235 that the sixth rubric at the end of the Communion Service was not intended to strike at reservation of the Sacrament for the sick, but at the profane consumption of it by wine-bibbers, is supported by the following facts. Bishop Cosin was one of the master-minds in the revision of 1661. It had been his painful duty to prohibit stringently the blasphemous practice of consecrating large quantities of

wine for the express purpose of drinking. This fact is so repulsive to our ideas that it has naturally been questioned. But it is indisputably true. In 1627 Cosin in his Visitation Articles asks whether the curate 'prepareth or blesseth not twice as much as shall suffice, either to have it home to his house, or to tarry behind in the church, there with other people, in profane and common manner, to eate and to drinke at the Lord's table' (*Publications of the Surtees Society*, A.D. 1868, vol. lii. p. 118).

It may be asked, was the rubric previous to 1661 sufficient to stop the possibility of such a profanity? No: it ran thus, 'If any of the bread or wine remain, the curate shall have it to his own use.' Some scandalous curates evidently sheltered themselves behind this rubric. This explains why Bishop Wren, who was one of the persons most directly concerned with the revision in 1661, says, 'As this was set down before, much outcry was made against it' (Jacobson, *Fragmentary Illustrations of the History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 85). The only possible outcry against such an innocent rubric must have been an outcry against the one misinterpretation which could be put upon it. Any doubt which might arise in our minds is removed by Cosin's own suggestions for the correction of the Prayer Book. Commenting on the old form of the rubric, he says: 'It is likewise here ordered, "That if any of the bread and wine remain, the Curate shall have it to his own use." Which words some curates have abused and extended so far, that they suppose they may take all that remains of the consecrated bread and wine itself, home to their houses, and there eat and drink the same with their other common meats; at least the Roman Catholics take occasion hereby to lay this negligence and calumny upon the Church of England; whereas the rubric only intends it of such bread and wine as remains unconsecrate of that which was provided for the parish. . . . Some words are needful here to be added, whereby the priest may be enjoined to consider the number of them which are to receive the Sacrament, and to consecrate the bread and wine in such a near proportion as shall be sufficient for them; but if any of the consecrated elements be left, that he and some others with him shall decently eat and drink them in the church before all the people depart from it' (*Works*, vol. v. p. 519, Oxford edit. 1855).

When the revision of 1661 took place, both Wren and Cosin suggested the insertion of a prohibition of the profane practice which they so much detested. The suggestion of Wren is printed above (p. 234). That of Cosin was, 'If any of the Bread or wine remaine unconsecrate the Curate shall have it

to his owne use; and if any remaine that was consecrate, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but the Priest and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him before the Lord's Table, shall there, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eate and drink the same' (*Publications of the Surtees Society*, A.D. 1870, vol. lv. p. 62). Almost the whole of this suggested rubric was adopted by the revisers and remains in our present Prayer Book.

In all this there is not the slightest hint of any condemnation of the practice of reserving the Sacrament for the sick. Our concluding quotation will be from Cosin's learned contemporary, Herbert Thorndike. It shows that he was quite unaware of any such condemnation. Thorndike was himself present at the Savoy Conference, and was a member of Convocation. In that capacity he took a share in the revision of the Prayer Book. A few years afterwards, in 1670, he wrote his work called *The Reformation of the Church of England better than that of the Council of Trent*. In it he says: 'And thus far I will particularize, as concerning the eucharist; that the Church is to endeavour the celebrating of it so frequently, that it may be reserved to the next communion. For in the mean time it ought to be so ready for them, that pass into the other world, that they need not stay for the consecrating of it on purpose for every one. The reason of the necessity of it for all, which hath been delivered, aggravates it very much in danger of death. And the practice of the Church attests it to the utmost. Neither will there be any necessity of giving it in one kind only; as by some passages of antiquity may be collected, if common reason could deceive in a subject of this nature' (*Works*, vol. v. p. 578, Oxford edit. 1854).

The references made by Cosin and Thorndike to the practice of Roman Catholics are peculiarly interesting. Cosin wished the rubric to be thoroughly revised, not that members of the Church of England should be restrained from keeping a primitive practice which the Church of Rome had kept, but that Roman Catholics should have no chance of accusing the Church of England of allowing the Sacrament to be desecrated. And after the rubric had been thoroughly and suitably revised, Thorndike criticised the Roman Catholics, not because they reserved, but because they did not reserve enough. They reserve 'in one kind,' that of bread; Thorndike urges that we should reserve the Sacrament both in the kind of bread and in that of wine.

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in First Prayer Book, 97;
in Second Prayer Book, 108, 118;
in Mozarabic Missal, Appendix C.
Consubstantiation, 89.
'Consuetudinary' and 'Customary,' of Sarum, 42.
Cope, a cloak used chiefly in processions, the most sumptuous of ecclesiastical vestments. Its use made alternative with the chasuble in 1549, 94.
Corporal or Corporas, the linen cloth on which the Sacrament is placed, or by which it is covered, called 'fair linen cloth' in the Prayer Book, 63.
Cosin (Bishop), his collects, 134. He apparently suggested the addition of the five prayers after the third collect in 1661.
Coverdale, translation of the Bible, 79; of the antiphon 'In the midst of life,' 240.
Creed,
the Nicene, when first used at Mass, 23;
originally used at Baptisms, 187;
the Apostles', in the Divine Office, 153, 161;
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Cross, or crucifix, usually placed on or over the holy table. Used in Elizabeth's chapel, 123.
Cutler (Timothy), of Yale College, 283.

Daily Prayers, in primitive times, 141;
origin of the English forms, 153.
Dalmatic, a silk tunic, originally with large sleeves, afterwards reduced in size; worn by the *deacon* at solemn Eucharists: except (i) in Advent, from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, when a folded chasuble is worn, and (ii) Good Friday, Vigils, lesser Masses of the dead, and Ember Days (not those in Whitsuntide), when only the alb, amice, stole and maniple are worn.
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Didache, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 2, 184.
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Directory, the, established by Parliament (1645), 132.
Dirge or *Dirige*, 71.
Dismissals, of those not qualified, 24, 57;
of the faithful, 30, 63.
Divine Office, the daily service at the canonical hours, 69, 148.
Double, or *Duplex*, a festival on which the Divine Office was originally recited twice, 150.
Dowden, Dr. (Bishop of Edinburgh), on the antiphon 'In the midst of life,' 240.
Durel, his version of the Prayer Book, 298.

Edward VI., Reformation under, 81.
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alterations made in the Prayer Book, 119;
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Ember Days (in German *Quatember*), a corruption of the Latin *Quatuor Tempora*, the fasts of the 'four seasons,' the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday after the first Sunday in Lent, after the feast of Pentecost, after September 14, and after December 13.
Embolismos, 28, 34, 35, 60.
Epiklêsis, the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost in the Eastern liturgies, 34, 303;
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retained in Prayer Book of 1549, 227;
dropped by Armenian Uniates, 228;
retained by Scottish Episcopalians, 228.

'Farsed' (*i.e.* interpolated) chants, 55, 68.
Feria, an ordinary week-day, as distinguished from a feast-day.
Ferial prayers, 164.
Festival or Feast: according to Sarum use there are two ranks of festivals called respectively 'double' and 'simple,' the former being divided into four classes. The festivals which now 'are to be observed' in the Church of England are all 'doubles,' and unlike most of the 'black letter' holy days, they are days on which an attendance at the Eucharist was regarded as a necessary duty.
Fraction, the ceremonial breaking of the bread, 29, 61, 135, 312.
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for Baptism, 191;
for Confirmation, 192;
for Penitents, 249;
for Ordination, 258.
Gifts, the oblations of bread and wine, 97, 99, 287, 292.
Girdle, a cord employed to secure the alb: formerly the girdle was often in the form of a long narrow band.
Gloria in excelsis, 21, 55;
in the First Prayer Book, 95;
in the American Prayer Book, 287.
Good Friday, the ancient service for this day was one of instruction and prayer, resembling a Mass of the Catechumens. The service at Milan is still of this type. Afterwards was added the 'Adoration' or 'Veneration' of the Cross and the Mass of the Presanctified. The Roman service in the eighth century was of severe simplicity. The reserved Sacrament in both kinds was brought from the sacristy to the altar by the deacons, and priest and people communicated, each 'adoring' and kissing the cross before so doing. The service was afterwards changed by the introduction of a more ornate procession and 'Adoration' of the Cross, and by the gradual abandonment of a general communion.
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Hermann (von Wied), Archbishop of Cöln,
his Consultation, 83, 177, 196, 222, 240.
High Mass, the old English name of a solemn celebration of the Eucharist, celebrated with deacon, sub-deacon and choir, and usually with incense. There is a corresponding name in Flemish, but the German is *Hochamt* or High service. *See* 55.
Hilsey (Bishop), Primer of, 74, 177.
Hooper (Bishop), and the First Prayer Book, 105.
Host or *Hostia*, offering, *i.e.* the bread, whether consecrated or unconsecrated, used in the Eucharist, 99, 124.
Hours, the Canonical, of the Divine Office, 70, 148, 152;
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the Lesser (sometimes called simply 'the Hours'), are Prime, Terce, Sext, None.
Housel, the Blessed Sacrament, an old English word derived from a Saxon word signifying oblation or sacrifice.
Houselling cloth, a linen cloth spread before communicants; still used at S. Mary's Church, Oxford: used in Elizabeth's chapel, 123.

Illatio, the proper Preface in the Mozarabic liturgy.
Immersion in Baptism, 184, 192, 200.
Incense, Old Roman use of, 23;
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after the Reformation, 120.
Intercession, the great, the prayer for the Church, recited in the Anaphora, 11, 14, 27, 34, 293.

Intercessions of the Litany, 180.
Interim, of Leipsig, p. ix.; of Augsburg, 296.
Introit. See *Officium*.
Invitatory, the refrain to *Venite* at Mattins, *e.g.* on Easter Day 'Alleluya, Alleluya: Christ has risen to-day; Alleluya, Alleluya'; on Ascension Day 'Alleluya: Christ ascending into heaven, come, let us worship; Alleluya.'
Invocation of the Holy Spirit. See *Epiklēsis*.
Invocation of saints, two meanings of the term, 76;
in the Litany, 175.
Ireland, Gallican rite in, 18, 39;
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Prayer Book in, 126.

James (S.), the liturgy of, 14.
James I., revision of Prayer Book under, 128;
his relation to the Church in Scotland, 276.
Journal, or *Diurnale*, the book containing the offices of the day hours only: Diurnale of Quiñones, 158.
Jumièges, Robert of, his Missal, 40.
Justin Martyr, his account of the Eucharist, 4; of Baptism, 185.

Kalendarium, Sarum, 152.
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improved by Quiñones, 158.
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Leofric, Missal of, 40, 262, 271.
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Lights, on the altar, usually two in number, illegally prohibited in 1549, 88; at the Gospel, 23, 56.
Lincoln use, based on that of Sarum, described, 56.
Litany, the, 168.
Liturgy, the celebration of the Eucharist, or the formula employed in such celebration, 1, 8, 20, 32.
Lord's Supper, *Coena Domini*, a mediæval term for the Eucharist retained by the English reformers, 53, 87.
Lord's table, 53, 269.
Low Mass, late origin of, 53.
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on Mattins and Evensong, 160;
on the Litany, 176;
on Baptismal Office, 196;
on Marriage Office, 222;
on Ordinations, 256.

Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, 169.
Maniple, a band of silk resembling a very small stole, worn on the left arm of the celebrant, deacon, and sub-deacon.
Manuale, the Book of the Occasional Offices, 69.
Mark (S.), the liturgy of, 17;
litany on the day of, April 25, 169.
Marshall's Primer, 74, 177.
Martyr (Peter), his influence in England, 104.
Mass, origin of the term, 9;
the mediæval English Mass described, 53; Cranmer on, 88.

Matrimony, solemnization of, 217.
Mattins, originally a name for *Lauds*, but afterwards given to the Nocturnal Office, 139.
Maundy Thursday, the Thursday before Easter,
called in Latin *Coena Domini*. The English name is from the Latin antiphon *Mandatum novum do vobis*. The washing of the feet of the poor on this day was continued by Elizabeth, 123; and some of the ceremonies are still retained in the royal chapel at Whitehall.
Maydestone (Clement), his *Directorium*, 155.
Memoria or Memorial, consisting of Antiphon, Versicle, Response with collect, said at the close of Evensong and Lauds.
Milk and honey, given to the newly baptized, 186, 192.
Millenary Petition (1603), supposed to contain a thousand signatures, 128.
Missa, 9.
Missa Nautica, 252.
Missa Praesanctificatorum, or Mass of the Presanctified, 16. In the East is sung on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, in the West only on Good Friday. *See* Good Friday.
Mitre, worn by Cranmer after the introduction of the English services, 311. Mitres were worn at Queen Anne's coronation.
Mixed chalice, the practice of mixing water with the wine used at the Eucharist appears to date from apostolic times; is mentioned by Justin Martyr, 4; is retained in all Eastern liturgies except the Armenian; in ancient Western rites, 25, 26, 56; directed to be performed at the Offertory in the First Prayer Book, 87, and also in Seabury's liturgy: not directed in the present English and Scottish books, but has been frequently performed in England since the Reformation; was almost universal in the North of Scotland in the seventeenth century.
Morning Prayer, the order of, 139.
Mozarabic liturgy. The ancient Gallican liturgy of Spain. The word is derived from an Arabic word which means 'those who assume the manners of Arabs,' and the name Mozarabic was given to those Christians who lived under Arab rule in Spain. *See* 19, 195, and Appendix C.

Nocturn, 149, 153.
Nocturnal Office, afterwards called Mattins, 144 ff.
Nonjurors, Communion Office of, 280.
Nürnberg Lutheran service, 109, 295.

O, Antiphonae majores de; the Antiphons to Magnificat, sung on the nine days before Christmas, each beginning with *O*. The beginning of the first, *O Sapientia*, remains in the English Kalendar.
Oath of Supremacy, 118, 268.
Oblations. The name oblation was in ancient times a title of the Eucharist. Later it was usually applied to the bread and wine offered before consecration or to money-offerings. The word was inserted in the Prayer for the Church Militant in 1661. It there probably means money offered for the clergy. In the Scottish Office of 1637 it also includes alms for the poor.
Obsecrations of the litany, 180.
Offertorium, the antiphon (originally with a psalm), sung at the oblation of the elements.
Office, the Divine, 69;
of the Blessed Virgin, 71;
of the Dead, 71;
the 'modern,' 151.
Officium or Introit, the antiphon and psalm at the beginning of Mass, 21, 55, 95.
'Order of the Communion' (1548), 82.
Ordinal, the English, 253.

Ordinale or Ordinal, of Sarum, 42, 155.
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late mediæval, 263, 271;
reformed, 265, 268.
Ornaments rubric, in 1559, 120; in 1661, 134. *See also* Appendix B.
The chief Ornaments rubrics of 1549 were as follows:
(i) before the Mass—*Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white Albe plain, with a vestment or Cope. And where there be many Priests, or Deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the Priest in the ministration as shall be required: And shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, Albes with tunicles.*
(ii) at the end of the book—*And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration: he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a Surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.*
Osmund (S.), his relation to the Sarum use, 41.

Palla or Pall, the linen cloth used to cover the chalice, 63: the cloth used to cover a coffin is also so called.
Parliament, prayer for High Court of, probably composed by Archbishop Laud in 1625.
Penance, 202, 249.
Perambulation of parishes, 173.
Pica or Pie, 155.
Placebo, 71.
Pontificale or Pontifical, 69, 265.
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Post-communion collect, 30, 35, 63, 96.
Preces feriales, 164.
Preface to the Prayer Book of 1549, from Quiñones; the present Preface prefixed to it was written in 1661.
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Priests, Ordination of, 256.
Prime, the service of, 148, 152.
Primer, 70; reformed, 71, 74, 80.
Procession, 168, 170.
Proper Prefaces. These were once very numerous, and are still in the Mozarabic rite. The Roman and mediæval English rites have ten. The English rite now has five, three of great antiquity, and two (those for Christmas and Whitsunday) composed in 1549.
Proprium Sanctorum, 152.
Psalms, the vii. Penitential, 70;
the xv. Gradual, 70;
all originally said weekly, 149.
Puritans, their objections to the Prayer Book, 128, 133.
Pyxis or Pyx, the usual name in England for the vessel in which the Sacrament is reserved for the Communion of the Sick, though in modern times such a vessel is often called the *ciborium*. Some of the oldest pyxes were constructed for the reservation of the Sacrament in both kinds. *See* 230.

Quicunque vult, the Psalm, otherwise called the Athanasian Creed, was probably composed in Gaul in Latin about A.D. 430. The reformers, believing the original to have been in Greek, used a Greek text as well as a Latin text in making their translation. For its use in England *see* 162, 166.
Quiñones (Cardinal), compiles a reformed Roman breviary used by Cranmer. 157, 166, 167.

Rattray (Bishop), influence on Scottish liturgy, 280.
Readers, order of, appointed to recite the lessons and responsory psalms, 9, 147.
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Requiem, the Mass for the dead, so named from the first word of the Introit:
instance of, after the Reformation, 121.
Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the Communion of the Sick (1549), 95, 230;
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retained by Scots Episcopalians, 234.
Respond or *Responsorium*, 149.
Ridley (Bishop), his statements on the Eucharist, 93, 94.
Ring, in Marriage, 222.
Rochet, a shortened form of the alb. It is worn by bishops, and was anciently in England sometimes worn by canons and by boys. The episcopal rochet had sleeves rather larger than those of the alb, but much smaller than the hideous puffed sleeves worn by bishops in the eighteenth century.
Rogation Days, 169.

Sacramentaries, heretics who represented the Sacraments as mere symbols, 88.
Sacramentarium or Sacramentary, an ancient service book, 67.
Sacrifice, Eucharistic, 49; in the First Prayer Book, 98.
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Serapion (Bishop of Thmuis), his book of prayers, 12, 227, 267.
Service Books, names of mediæval, 67.
Sick, Order for the Visitation of, 224.
Spousage, tokens of, 220.
Stole, a long narrow band of silk, worn over the alb or surplice: with the alb priests (*not* bishops) cross it over the breast: deacons wear it over the left shoulder.
Suffrages, petitions in the Litany, 171, 172, 257.
Surplice, the ordinary dress of the clergy in choir. It is a somewhat late mediæval form of the alb, made with large sleeves in order to cover a thick dress of furs (*super-pelliceum*). The old Italian surplice or cotta (the Italian name is simply our 'coat') was very ample: the small cotta sometimes seen in England is the debased shape used in the eighteenth century, and is peculiarly incongruous when worn side by side with Gothic Eucharistic vestments.
Sursum Corda, first known use of, 6; later use of, 34, 35.

Te Deum. This hymn was composed about A.D. 400. It probably originally ended at the words 'glory everlasting,' the remaining verses having been an appendage to the Greek morning hymn, the *Gloria in excelsis*. At Rome it was first used at the Nocturnal Office of the festivals of Popes; in the use of Sarum it was sung at Mattins on Sundays and most feasts except in Advent and Lent.
Tenebrae, the Mattins and Lauds of Thursday, Friday and Saturday before Easter. They were originally sung immediately after

midnight. The present ceremonies are French.
Thanksgiving, general, in the daily service, was composed by Edmund Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, in 1661.
Tractus or Tract, 22, 33.
Trisagion, 21, 33.
Troper, 68.
Tropus or Trope, 68.
Tunica or Tunicle, a silk tunic resembling the dalmatic, but in England sometimes plainer than the dalmatic; worn by the *subdeacon* at solemn Eucharists; on occasions when the deacon wears no dalmatic, the sub-deacon wears either the folded chasuble or only the alb, amice and maniple.

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Veni Creator Spiritus, the hymn 'Come, Holy Ghost,' composed in the ninth century, and afterwards put in the Ordinal. The translation made by Cranmer for the Ordinal of 1550 is now placed *second* in our Ordinal. The *first* translation was inserted in 1661 and is probably by Cosin.
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Vestment. This word ordinarily means the chasuble, or the chasuble with stole and maniple.
Viaticum, or 'provision for the journey,' the Holy Eucharist when administered to the dying, 231.
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Visitation of the Sick, 224.

Wafer bread, retained at the Reformation, 84, 122;
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